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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1418

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CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

LITHUANIAN WOMAN SENTENCED FOR ANTI-SOVIET SLANDER

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 21 May 83 p 3

[Article by Danute Chepulite: "Reflections after the Trial--Punishment for Slander"]

[Text] Tiesa, 21 May 83--Yadviga Belyauskene, a resident of Garlyava in Kaunasskiy rayon, was arrested and booked for spreading slander against the socialist system. Her activities qualified as a violation of Soviet laws.

Just who is this Ya. Belyauskene? In order to understand the woman's crime, the court needed to look into her past, during the post-war years in particular.

In 1947 and 1948 she was a member of the nationalist band "Nerimantas", operating in Kretingskiy rayon. The house of her parents, the Shilauskases, in the village of Rudaychyay in Kretingskiy rayon was a gathering place for the bandits. The bandits gave her father the nickname "Menulis" and he fed them and gave them a place to sleep. They drank together. Yadviga Shilauskayte (now Ya. Belyauskene) was studying at the Palanga secondary school, she was called "Shatriya" and met with the leader of the armed band of bourgeois nationalists at night, and with his assistants, giving them information that they needed. On their instructions she distributed leaflets in the Palanga secondary school and in the town, which discredited Soviet power and called for a campaign against it. She even composed some scribbling herself that was hostile to our system and helped the bandits catch some young people in their nets using deceitful means.

The "Nerimantas" band, composed of former kulaks, minions of Hitler and people who betrayed the homeland during the Great Patriotic War, left terrible marks on the maritime region. They attacked peasants' farms and terrorized Soviet workers. They robbed and murdered.

Many crimes were committed in the Rydaychyay area, where Yadviga Shilauskayte lived.

On 8 September 1946, Yurgis Sakutis, chairman of the Palanga district land commission, was killed in the village of Palenginyay.

On 23 September 1946, Pranas Dochkus, a new resident of the village of Zhibininkay was killed.

On 8 February 1947, Andrekus and Samoshka, new residents, Ivan Gur'yev, police commissioner, and Vilimishkes Gerdzhyunene, village resident, were killed.

The band of cutthroats, of which "Shatriya", now Ya. Belyauskene, was a member, in April 1948 attacked two ardent supporters of the new life, Pranas Aksion-aytis, chairman of the Palanga district executive committee, and Protasiyus Yasinskas, police chief. Killed with them were policemen Pyatras Rumsha and Kazimeras Narbutas, and the 17-year old driver Antanas-Napoleonas Intas.

In 1948 the leader of the band told one member of the group that was led by "Shatriya" to find out which peasants did not vote in the elections. It turned out that all of them voted. The embittered bandits burned the building in Palanga where agitation work had been carried out during the election campaign.

In the summer of 1948 Yadviga Shilauskayte was arrested and tried for her activities in the armed nationalist band and for betrayal of the homeland. Subsequently her punishment was reduced to eight years. On her return to Lithuania, she settled in Garlyava. Could one expect that she had drawn some conclusions from her mistakes? Of course, but...

Seeing that society looks with contempt on former participants of the nationalist underground and their accomplices, Yadviga Belyauskene hid the reasons for her conviction from those who did not know. Soviet power, governed by humane principles, considered that Belyauskene's lesson had been sufficiently severe and gave her an opportunity to start a new life. She was able to live and work like everyone else, her son graduated from an institution of higher education. Naturally, no one would have brought up her past deeds if Ya. Belyauskene had truly valued the humane treatment she had received and lived an honest, hard-working life. But she again became involved in anti-Soviet activities. Hiding behind a role as an interpreter of religious dogma, she tried to instill in children animosity toward the Soviet way of life and school, and sow a hatred for atheists and the policies of friendship among the peoples of our country.

Soviet schools and our entire way of life teach children to be hard-working, honest and to love their homeland. Ya. Belyauskene was trying to instill in young people ideas about honor and duty that are foreign to us. In the course of the legal proceedings, it was revealed how slyly and like a spider she operated, trapping her victims in a sticky, dirty web. Children love games and poems, so this is what Belyauskene used. She organized children's shows, and learned poems together with the young performers. But what kind of poems? Poems from the pens of people who have betrayed the homeland. Ya. Belyauskene hoped to poison the young hearts and minds with the poison of nationalism and hatred for other peoples and everything Soviet.

Ya. Belyauskene kept in her apartment anti-Soviet, nationalist publications, originals and copies. Just as in the post-war years, she started to concoct essays slandering the Soviet state and social system and gave them, along with other falsifications, to various people, planning for them to end up abroad where they would be used against the Soviet Union.

Slander is a vile thing, because before it is rationally refuted and revealed for what it is, it can succeed in having an effect, it can poison someone's consciousness. This is what Ya. Belyauskene was counting on. She started collecting signatures on "letters" with anti-Soviet content. She found people who would give their signatures without reading the letters. At the trial they admitted the irresponsibility of their behavior and agreed that their carelessness not only did them a dishonor, but served the treacherous schemes of Ya. Belyauskene. The so-called "letters" and "statements" contained all kinds of fabrications and malicious lies about Soviet Lithuania. Some said, for example, that believers are persecuted here, especially young people, and slanderous attacks were made against Soviet officials and the socialist system. Belyauskene received similar "documents" from extremists among the religious believers, and the others she composed herself, as was mentioned already. Ya. Belyauskene wanted to show that there were others who held her views and so obtained signatures on these letters using deceptive methods. Witnesses at the trial confirmed that they had been misled. They said, if only they had known what they were really signing!

It became clear that reprehensible activities of Ya. Belyauskene did not receive the support and sympathy of the members of her family. The family literally fell apart because of Ya. Belyauskene's religious fanaticism and anti-Soviet behavior.

The Supreme Court of the Lithuanian SSR, having considered thoroughly Ya. Belyauskene's case, found her guilty under Article 68 (part 1) of the Criminal Code of LiSSR and sentenced her to four years imprisonment followed by three years of exile.

9967

CSO: 1800/1291

INTERNATIONAL

ANTI-SOVIETISM OF AMERICANS INSPIRED BY WASHINGTON, SOVIET JOURNALIST CLAIMS

Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by V. Gan, Washington-Moscow: "School of Hate: How the American People Are Being Indoctrinated in the Spirit of Anticommunism and Antisovietism" under the rubric "On the Other Side"]

[Text] I do not want to remember these encounters, but they are permanently imprinted in the tissue of memory, woven from weeks, months and years of work across the ocean....Nancy was diffident at first, then apprehensively asked me:

"Are you really from Russia? Then tell me why do you want to invade us? Isn't Siberia enough for you?"

I must admit I didn't expect such a question and it was surely not very polite of me to burst into laughter.

"Nancy, whoever told you that?"

"I've reliable information. My mother told me about it, and the bible says it."

Well, well! Nancy listened to no other opinion--to her I represented the blood-thirsty "Russian bear" stretching his taloned claws toward defenseless America....

The little town of Nogales in Arizona where I happened to be dispatched on an assignment is distant from the crossroads of America; it is a backwoods town, so to speak. But variations of similar nonsense about the "godless aggressors from Russia" can be heard in "enlightened" American cities as well. Of course, "respectable" citizens would be shocked to be compared with the waitress Nancy from god-forsaken Nogales. But still, their views have much in common. To one degree or another, at one time or another, they all have passed through the "school of hate" of our country, hate of all that is Soviet, communist, regardless of the social strata of the American society from which they come.

They are taught to hate already while in swaddling clothes. Thus while in the kindergarten--precisely in the kindergarten!--"the principles of Western ideology" begin to be gradually hammered into still innocent minds, instruction in "principles of anticommunism" is mandatory in the school. In the next stage, in the higher schools, the teaching of hate becomes more sophisticated. At that stage, lectures on the "situation, history and policies of the USSR" are given--lectures which of course have nothing in common with the truth about the situation in the USSR and its history and policies.

Feelings of hate implanted in childhood are bound to produce fruit. Some people become hostile or at least indifferent to anything that occurs outside their own little world. Others, such as Nancy, in whom the cloudless days of a simple childhood left a lasting impression of "some Russia" as something incomprehensible and terrible, remain ignorant all their life. It is precisely such people that were described by the American public opinion expert G. Gallup, who merely shrugged on recalling how, in answer to the question about the names of any Soviet federated republics, the answer was invariably: "Russia and Siberia." Well, this reflects a distinctive logic of hate, as expressed in the form of elementary ignorance which is being completely exploited by professional anti-communists. Such logic also is reflected in the blasphemous comments of people who believe that during World War II the Soviet Union had fought on the side of...Hitlerite Germany (according to a Gallup poll 43 percent of respondents gave such answers).

The "school of hate" provides an extremely favorable atmosphere for those who make anti-Sovietism a profession from which they derive considerable income. At one time the well-known American journalist Dzh. Kharsh [transliterated] included in that cohort the representatives of the military-industrial complex, Zionists and members of the families of all kinds of defectors, traitors and misfits. He wrote that it is simply necessary to their wellbeing to have a "national foe" personified in, of course, the Soviet Union and, forming a mighty coalition, day and night they "sing in unison" about "the Soviet menace."

Fortunately, far from all people are susceptible to anti-Soviet propaganda. This "brainwashing" has not prevented many Americans from feeling sympathy for our great nation and country. It is they who cried on viewing the epic film "The Great Patriotic War," when it was shown in the United States. It is they who shout slogans and carry posters in front of the cast-iron fence surrounding the White House, appealing for peace and disarmament, who telephone congratulations to Soviet correspondents on the occasion of the launching of yet another spacecraft and send flowers on Lenin's birthday and other national Soviet holidays.

They are many, too, but let us not delude ourselves--it is not they who shape the moral-psychological climate of present-day America. It is shaped, unfortunately, by those who stand closest to the kitchen-range of blunt anti-Sovietism. Waves of "hate of the Russians" surge throughout the modern history of the United States. The causes are quite a few: the defeat in Vietnam, the shrinkage of the spheres of American influence in the world and the deep socio-economic crisis in the United States. But perhaps the principal reason why the furnace of anti-Sovietism is being stoked is the indisputable and steadfast strengthening of the political and economic might of the Soviet Union and the world's growing attraction toward its foreign and domestic policies. All this is reflected in the frank admission made as part of a hysterical outcry in the journal NATIONAL REVIEW: "The stakes are the survival and preservation of the menaced way of life." The American way of life, of course.

Yes, they fear and dread losing the battle for the hearts and minds of people. And that is why they can think of nothing better than administering to them the poison of anti-Sovietism. "We are in a state of war with the Russians--this is a de facto war or a declared war"--this is how, for example, the question is posed by a present-day "theoretician" of hate, Ch. Wick, the director of the USIA.

The techniques which they employ in this warfare are not novel. Always the same lies, slander, distortion of facts and aims of Soviet policies, calumnies and

glossing-over of facts. The thesis--borrowed from the propaganda of Goebbels--that the greater the lie the more readily it is believed, is being scrupulously translated into reality.

Practically everything that goes wrong, including bad weather, is attributed to "Russian machinations." Not a day passes without "red agents"--surly and pedestrian characters in baggy clothing who slouch across TV screens in millions of American homes, attempting to undermine from inside "the sacred American dream," or invading Alaska as a prelude to World War III and readying a victory march on Pennsylvania Avenue. All kinds of renegades who are ready to fling mud on our Homeland in exchange for promised silver pieces are publicized in heart-rending tones.

The average American has never heard of, say, Tvardovskiy, Simonov, Shukshin, Plevoy, Abramov and other Soviet writers. Well-known Soviet poets and writers are published in tiny editions or not at all. On the other hand, Americans are exposed to millions of copies of books that elegantly slander the Soviet Union. And can Soviet films be ever seen on panoramic American screens?

Extremely influential circles take part in the total instigation of anticommunism in America. There is hardly any newspaper, periodical or radio or television company that is not an obedient object of manipulations by those who flourish on anti-Sovietism. Harnessed along with them to the cart of hate is a whole multitude of organizations, leagues, associations and coalitions of the "Moral Majority" type, as well as the Conservative Political Action Committee, the John Birch Society and others. "The Moral Majority," for example, uncovers "communist conspiracies" in close cooperation with thousands of clergymen across the nation who demand from the pulpit that "communists be registered and branded on the forehead." The American Conservative Alliance is never short of funds for its malign activities: it perceives "Moscow's agents" in the mass movement for nuclear freeze and, in its radio and TV programs, scares the Philistines with the bugbear of "the Soviet menace."

And of course the Administration in Washington itself, which has declared a "crusade against communism," is an inexhaustible source of anti-Soviet slander carried to the point of absurdity. Reagan himself now and then makes speeches in the spirit of confrontation and militant naked anticommunism. Even the American press points to his pathological hate of the world of socialism and communism, which he declares to be the "source of evil in the modern world."

The government of the United States disposes of mighty tools for assuring maximum publicity for its insinuations. While I had served in Washington I witnessed more than once how the White House literally dictated to correspondents its attitude toward various actions of the USSR by treating them to "special information." Nearly every day, spokesmen for the Department of State and other departments hold talks-briefings "on a personal basis" with groups of correspondents from the leading mass media who instantaneously forget their pretensions to "freedom" and "independence" of judgment. As for the governmental publications themselves, they simply do not deserve mention. They disseminate any fabrication on orders from the top. The Pentagon alone handles 1,480 publications specifically aimed at the mass psychological indoctrination of the population in the anti-Soviet spirit.

The contents of these rags are readily visualized. The periodical POLITICAL AFFAIRS states: "Everything is done deliberately in the hope of presenting the

Soviet people as a people so irrational, so lacking in common sense and intelligible motivation, that the average American cannot even hope to understand it." Imbuing the country with hate mixed with fear of "those Russians," the anti-Sovietists strive to prepare the population psychologically for giving uncritical support to the militarist programs of the "government of millionaires for millionaires," which automatically imply a growth in the profits of the biggest monopolies, so as to make that population an obedient executor of the will of those who hazard the dangerous bet on confrontation in international relations.

Sober-thinking statesmen in America itself are perfectly aware that such a course is pregnant in calamitous consequences not only to the cause of peace but also to Americans themselves. Thus, the well-known historian and diplomat G. Kennan, a former envoy to the USSR, recently condemned the American system of "endless distortions and systematic dehumanization of another great country, the attribution of evil intentions to the goals of the USSR, and the daily distortion of the nature and attitudes of another great nation." Kennan called all this "the signs of intellectual primitivism" unworthy of a great power--the United States.

Of course, it is the business of America itself to raise itself above this primitivism. But, judging from all, this primitivism is extremely convenient to those in the United States who nowadays cultivate the spirit of the "cold war" and follow the path of foreign-policy adventures and the arms race.

1386

CSO: 1800/1226

INTERNATIONAL

POLITICAL ROLE OF ISLAM SEEN VARYING BY COUNTRY

Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 4, Apr 83 (signed to press 25 Feb 83)
pp 57-60

[Article by Prof L. Polonskaya, doctor of historical sciences: "Islam and Politics in the Contemporary East"]

[Text] The use of religion for different political purposes is not a new historical phenomenon. For countries in which Islam is prevalent, the influence of religion on politics, aside from general social-economic and historical reasons, is due to the specific character of the inception and evolution of this religious system and its role in Eastern society at different stages of its development. In the East, Islam has long been a means of political mobilization of the masses, which for a long time have known no other ideology except a religious one. Thus, the national-liberation movement against colonialism had its inception under religious slogans. The popular masses, living under Middle-Age conditions, first arose against the bearers of an alien religion oppressing them, correcting their "national beliefs."

But then the imperfection of this means of unification and the desire of the exploiting classes to use religion for the protection of their interests were disclosed. We know that division of patriotic forces has occurred often because of religious differences. In the final analysis, a decisive role in the liberation of the countries of Asia and Africa from colonialism has naturally been played not by the use of religion but by the struggle of the working masses in defense of their class interests and unification of broad patriotic forces under national slogans.

At the present stage, activation of the "Islamic factor" in the lives of the liberated countries is due both to historical reasons and also to the special features of present-day development. At the same time, there is no doubt that the current role of Islam in politics is also far from single-valued, being complex and contradictory.

The influence of Islam on politics and its place in the state structure largely depend on the developmental level of the country, the order of class and political forces in it, the order and direction of social-economic and political changes, the structure of government and on what political forces use religion

for. The purpose and character of use of religion in state politics is also determined to a significant degree by how the social forces in power act toward capitalism and socialism.

The "world of Islam" is quite heterogeneous and the countries comprising it are at different stages of social development; each of them faces pressing problems.

Makeup of the "Islamic World"

The total size of the Muslim population in Asia and Africa is about 800 million persons. Muslims live in more than 120 countries. In 35, they constitute the majority (90-95 and even 99 percent of the population) and in 13, an influential minority. In 28 countries, Islam is the state religion; in some of them (Iran, Pakistan, Mauritania), the term "Islamic" is included in the official name of the country. In the "Islamic world," there are rich countries--exporters of petroleum, where the national income per capita is higher than in many of the developed capitalist states (Saudi Arabia, Libya, Kuwait), and there are countries which according to UN classification belong among the poorest, for example, Bangladesh.

The rich oil-producing Arab countries and Iran form as it were the center of the "Islamic world," and many states to varying degree depend on them, primarily financially. Pakistan may be considered to belong to the center, although it does not have petrodollars--here there is a strong industrial bourgeoisie, actively acting in other less developed countries. Egypt is also drawn to the center of the "Islamic world." Its prestige is largely to be explained by the fact that there is to be found the ideological citadel of Islam--the Muslim university of al-Azhar. The undeveloped countries of Tropical Africa where Islam has become prevalent only recently, form the periphery of the "Islamic world." The remaining states are to be found in between the center and the periphery.

Differences in the level of the social-economic development of the countries comprising the "Islamic world" are very great. Furthermore, almost everyone of them contains up to the present time social strata and economic ways of different historical epochs--from the tribe to the nation, from the community to the state sector and monopolies, from patriarchal peasantry to modern proletariat.

The greater portion of the countries of traditional prevalence of Islam is developing according to the capitalist way, while some have chosen socialist orientation (the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and a number of others).

The countries of prevalence of Islam are also to be distinguished according to their political order. They include absolute monarchies (Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and others), regimes with military dictatorships (Pakistan), constitutional monarchies (Jordan, Morocco, Malaysia and others) and republics (Iran, Algeria, Libya). At the same time, declaration of Islam as a state religion or the adoption of principles of secularism does not depend

on the character of the government. Those that have adopted secular principles as a rule are countries where Muslim communities constitute a religious minority (India, Burma, Singapore). The official ideology of Turkey and of Bangladesh (prior to 1975) is secular. A secularist tendency is growing in the politics of Indonesia (since 1965).

Prior to the end of the '70s, even in those countries where Islam had been declared to be the state religion, the basic social-economic, political and social institutions remained secular (an exception is to be found in Saudi Arabia and most of the United Arab Emirates). Recently, however, the operation of Muslim organizations has become active in almost all of the countries of the "Islamic world." Islamization (this is the name, which is now part of history, a political movement that has as its purpose a return to Muslim norms and social institutions and their introduction into state life and the legal structure) is being carried out.

What Are the Reasons for Activation of the Muslim Movement?

The so-called "Islamic boom" toward the end of the '70s is a fully logical phenomenon at the given stage of development of the liberated countries of Asia and Africa.

We know that in periods of political stability the influence of religion on politics is limited; religion itself undergoes modernization, and it operates basically in the sphere of morality and ethics. But when crises become imminent, breaking out with a certain periodicity in individual countries, religion is drawn into politics. Such a shift of periods occurred among the developing countries of Asia and Africa. In the first decades following gaining of independence, a certain stability was observed here. Moreover, secularization of society proceeded at a rather fast pace and modernization affected all its spheres. Certain rulers attempted to carry over Western models of development to national soil. In many of the African and Asian countries, the capitalist system became the dominant one. For most of them, such a path of development led to political crises and social upheavals.

Capitalism unsettled life routines, ruined numerous strata of the population tied to precapitalist--feudal and small-scale systems of economy--peasants, artisans, traders. For them, the world of traditional ways has collapsed. In it, religion was the regulator of basic spheres of activity. These strata saw as their salvation the banishment of everything that had come from the West and the resurrection of the "violated norms of Islam" as well as retention of religious tradition.

The idealization of the "golden age" of early Islam is becoming a form of protest against capitalism, and these social forces--carriers of religious traditions--are being drawn into politics; Islamic slogans are becoming the banner of antiimperialist and antiexploitation demonstrations. The vast masses of believers are being drawn into new conditions in the political struggle, while the process of politicization of Islam is acquiring new features.

The strengthening of the "Islamic factor" at the present stage is also to be explained by the growth of influence in the world of the petroleum producing countries of the East as well as by the need of unification of Muslim forces in the face of Israeli aggression--this circumstance in particular is contributing to the Islamization of Arab nationalism.

In the search for a way out of the crisis, the ruling regimes have started to create national models of development based on traditional religious institutions and on turning to traditional ideals. Their implementation under concrete conditions shows how different the role and influence of Islam are in the different countries of the "Islamic world." In each, the forefront is occupied by its problems, depending on the level of development of the country, on religious specific conditions and on what forces are carrying out Islamization.

Iran: Islamization on the Basis of Movement from Below

In countries where Islam is prevalent, theologians serve as guardians of the traditional way of life and of religious ideals connected in the popular consciousness with ideas of social justice. Back in the course of the struggle for independence, religious leaders acquired the reputation of being irreconcilable enemies of the imperialists. Consequently among the masses of believers, mullahs, sheikhs and ulama enjoy tremendous prestige and, possessing unlimited influence, become strong leaders of political demonstrations. Thus, Muslim Shiite authorities, traditionally standing in opposition to state authorities, headed the popular anti-Shah, antiimperialist movement in Iran, which the political figures of Asia and Africa themselves call an "Islamic revolution." It overthrew the Shah, as a result of which the Islamic Republic of Iran was formed in 1979 in place of the monarchy.

Unlike the nationalist ideology of the Shah, who included Islam only as one of its components, Islam in present-day Iran has been declared to be the basis of social development. Shiite theologians have concentrated the power in their own hands while at the same time retaining the operation of deliberative (Parliament) and executive organs of government. The head of the state is the highest spiritual authority, being above president and parliament. This is the ayatollah Homeini, who is considered to be the regent of the "hidden Imam"--the Shiite messiah whose coming is awaited by the followers of Shiism. In accordance with the country's constitution, after the death of Homeini, the head of state could be one or several recognized religious authorities.

A special council of six Muslim lawyers and six "just Muslim jurists, familiar with the needs of the time and the problems of the day" have to see that governmental laws and actions are in keeping with Islam. It is inscribed in the constitution that the government has to promote the moral improvement and cultural progress of society and the development of the national economy and to base its policy on the principles of struggle against imperialism, "fraternal obligations" in regard to all Muslims and disinterested patronage of the needy of the entire world.

As one of the largests petroleum exporting countries, Iran is endeavoring to develop its own foreign-policy strategy with the aid of the slogan "neither

West nor East." The leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran assert that the "Islamic revolution" should spread to the entire "world of Islam" for the purpose of creating a world Muslim state.

Developmental tendencies in Iran are extremely contradictory; disagreements are growing between the pro-bourgeois conservatives and the radical petty bourgeois groups of Shiite theologians. The course of events quite clearly shows the utopian character of attempts to create a contemporary model of a republic government within the framework of Islamic Middle-Age institutions. At the same time, the experience of Iran attests to the possibility of using "Islamic models of development" in the course of a certain period primarily for the defenders of small-proprietor interests.

Pakistan: Islamization from Above

In all of the stages of the history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, established in 1947, Islam constituted the basis of the official ideology of "Pakistan nationalism," representing the further development of "Muslim nationalism." From the very beginning, there operated a council of Muslim theologians --ulama. On coming to power after the so-called peaceful revolution of 1959, Ayub Khan (he remained president till 1969) included modernization of Islam among primary national tasks, relating to it the solution of many problems of internal and foreign policy.

After the political crisis of 1969 and the advent of Yahya Khan to power, a slogan of reactionary Islamic parties "jihad against communism" was activated and propaganda was intensified of the unity of Pakistan as an "Islamic ideological state." It was directed against national movements in West Pakistan and for the separation of Bangladesh.

During the period of the presidency of Z.A. Bhutto (1971-1977), Islam remained in the arsenal of state ideology, although Bhutto was against reactionary Muslim parties and their anticommunist slogans. He propagandized slogans of "Muslim socialism," basing himself in this connection on traditions of "popular Islam," coming out sharply against religious dogmatism.

The advent to power of Zia-ul-Haq heralded the beginning of Islamization from above. Following the military coup in July 1977, higher judiciary organs received the right to declare illegal any decree which in their opinion contradicted the shariah. The Koran was proclaimed the basis of legislation. In 1979, shariah norms were established for punishment of criminal acts, and there were officially introduced the zakyat as a state tax (the law became operative 20 June 1980) and the ushr (tax for products); usurious interest (riba) was officially forbidden.

The Islamization conducted from above was only able temporarily to effect stabilization of the political situation in the country. The military-bureaucratic circles, interested in stirring up religious fanaticism, increasingly began to make use of the "Islamic factor" in foreign policy: enmity was fomented against "Hindu" India, and the territory of Pakistan was used for the organization of actions against Afghanistan "in the name of salvation of Islam." But

the gamble on an Afghan counterrevolution failed to bring about the desired results. In the summer of 1982, the government of Pakistan held talks with the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, so the "Islamic world" had the opportunity of satisfying itself of the full respect for Islamic principles in this state.

The process of Islamization of the state life of Pakistan brought about no improvement in the economic situation and was not sufficiently effective in legalization of the military government, although the political situation in the country was stabilized somewhat. Islamization from above is continuing. In April 1981, a special committee was established under the federal government for development of Islamic principles for the state structure and in the beginning of 1982 a consultative council was formed for implementation of the principle of *mushavarat* (consultations). But at the same time there is growing dissatisfaction with the policy of the government. The theologians blame it for insufficient consistency in Islamization. Leftist forces are against the return to Middle-Age legal norms. The masses of believers, relating to Islamization their hopes for social justice, are dissatisfied with the fact that it is not bringing them any real improvement in their position. Nonetheless, the possibilities of using Islamization in the interest of the bourgeoisie have far from been exhausted.

Egypt: Opposing Aims of Identical Slogans

In Egypt during the '60s, Islamic slogans were used for opposing political aims of different political forces.

The theory of "Islamic socialism," developed by the theologians of al-Azhar, served as a theological validation of the progressive political course of Nasser's government. The movement of the "Muslim brotherhood," in coming out against Nasser, based its protest on the same ideals. Between the partisans of Nasser at al-Azhar and the "Muslim brotherhood," there existed no serious theoretical differences in defining the principles. The difference was to be found in their political aims. Nasser conducted his policy, which had acquired a religious basis, with secular methods. Putting religion under the state meant putting theologians under state control and excluded Islamic institutions from the governmental structure. It is no accident that the period of Nasser's rule has entered into history as a period of secular policy. At the same time, it also had a clearly expressed antiimperialist direction.

As for the "Muslim brotherhood," it opposed the revolutionary democratism of Nasser with a "rebirth of Islam" as a means of salvation from communism. They accused Nasser of atheism and of abandonment of the fundamental principles of Islam, stressing that Islamic ideals have to be implemented with Islamic methods. "No constitution if it is not the Koran," they declared. In Egypt at that time, the struggle of the reactionary and progressive forces for power proceeded under the slogans of Islam. Organization of the "Muslim brotherhood" was forbidden in the country.

Sadat's regime initially undertook a number of concessions to the "Muslim brotherhood" and took certain steps toward Islamization of the country's social

life. But this direction contradicted Sadat's pro-Western course and a contemplated treaty with Israel. Following the Camp David agreement with Israel, a part of the "Muslim brotherhood" assumed opposition to the regime. It was connected, directly or indirectly, with Muslim leftist extremist organizations which took a terrorist approach. They organized, beginning in 1974, a number of attempts on Sadat's life, which ended in his assassination in 1981. In Egypt at the present time, the struggle between progressive and reactionary forces under the slogans of Islam has not ceased.

Saudi Arabia and Libya--Claimants to Leadership in the "Islamic World"

Islam retains an important role in the politics of Arab countries. Toward the end of the '70s, the movement of Arab solidarity and Arab nationalism acquired an increasingly definite Islamic character. This has been greatly abetted by growth of the international influence of the petroleum producing countries, where Islam serves as a support for the existing regimes. These countries, having acquired through petrodollars the possibility to exert an influence on the West and the foreign and internal policies of other so-called Muslim countries, aspire to the role of leaders in the "world of Islam." Such claims are to be primarily noted in Saudi Arabia and Libya. These countries are quite active in the movement of Islamic solidarity, and influential Muslim international organizations are created with their money.

In Saudi Arabia, the Koran has been declared the constitution of the land. Together with the sunna, it regulates all spheres of life. The juridical system is based on the shariah. A special department for affairs of the shariah is in operation; it is headed by the supreme justice (kadi). In accordance with shariah prescriptions, here today a hand is chopped off for theft, the sentence for adultery is stoning, and smoking and use of spirits are punished with flogging. A special morals service watches over observance of the shariah.

Nonetheless it cannot be said that the Middle Ages hold sway in this kingdom and that Islam retains a determinative influence in politics--foreign and domestic. Here there is no stability. The petrodollars draw Saudi Arabia into the orbit of world economics, the feudal aristocracy is becoming bourgeois and is turning to the Western way of life, and it is granted indulgences with respect to the Islamic prescriptions. Incidentally, at the same time propaganda in favor of an "Islam character of state" and on reliance on Islam is being intensified.

Bourgeois modernization of the economy with retention of traditional forms of monarchical government causes here crisis manifestations in politics--opposition is growing to the government. Moreover, it is emerging here under religious slogans. This opposition is not homogeneous. Among the ulama coming out against the Saudis, there are followers of Sunnite orthodoxy and adherents of extreme puritanism putting forth slogans of "revival of the faith." In this they are aimed at the Muslim urban lower classes--the poor as well as at small-property owners and small-scale traders and at all the diverse groups of the population with a petty bourgeois psychology caught up, as in other countries, in political ferment.

Despite such a situation inside their own country, the Saudis have made many strides toward unification and consolidation of the "world of Islam." In 1981, they called upon Muslims of the world for a jihad--a holy war against adherents of different creeds, who had profaned the holy places of Islam in East Jerusalem.

The positions of Islam in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya differ in principle from Saudi Arabia. Qadhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, created on the basis of "revival of Islam" a "third world theory" in which he tries to combine the antiexploitation and antiimperialist tendencies of the masses for protection of small-property interests and to combine Islam and nationalism and Muslim social and political institutions with tribal tradition.

The Libyan revolution under the banner of Islam without a doubt is promoting tendencies of noncapitalist development and is undermining the positions of neocolonialism. The "third world theory" contains the ideas of building a "flourishing society" on the basis of Islam and rejecting both capitalism and socialism. Furthermore, this theory is declared to be the only true one. It is affirmed that it must be followed by the entire "world of Islam" regardless of the developmental level of a country.

Libya's prestige in a number of countries is quite high. This, of course, is abetted not only by the "revival of Islam" but also by the colossal revenues from petroleum, which provides economic support for the Libyan experiment.

Tropical Africa--The Periphery of the "Islamic World"

During the '60s and '70s, Islam was observed to become markedly more active in the countries of Africa south of the Sahara--this religion spread literally before our eyes. Many political figures of Tropical Africa during the '70s declared their adoption of Islam. They include the president of the Gabon republic, the former "emperor" of the Central African Republic. In the opinion of the Soviet researcher Professor Ya.Ya. Etinger, the spread of Islam south of the Sahara is connected with the growth of influence here of Arab countries (first of all Saudi Arabia) and Iran.

African nationalists hope with the help of Islam to overcome religious and political dissociation and to achieve political consolidation of these countries. Still in only two countries of Tropical Africa is Islam the official state religion. In the consciousness of this region's Muslims there is predominant the idea of a general African unity upholding the idea of the unity of all members of the Muslim community.

It has been possible to note recently a drawing closer of Muslims of Tropical Africa to the "Muslim world," first of all with the Arab countries of North Africa and the Near East (this is also promoted to a large degree by the desire of the "Muslim" countries of Tropical Africa to obtain the aid of the "Islamic world" in the struggle against the Republic of South Africa). But there is no doubt of the greater common interest of these countries with other "non-Muslim" states of Tropical Africa than with the countries of North Africa and the Near and Middle East. At the same time, reactionary forces frequently use

opposition of Islamic solidarity to African unity for the strengthening of their own positions (Muslim support of the ruling regime of Somali at the time of the conflict between Somali and Ethiopia, the revisionist regime of Mobutu in Zaire and so on).

We have examined only some characteristic examples of Islam's involvement in politics. In each country, in each region it has its own peculiarities. In the political life of the countries of socialist orientation such as Algeria, Syria and a number of others (we have not examined them here), turning to Islam is of a different character than, say, in Pakistan or Saudi Arabia. The politicization of Islam possesses unique features in countries that rejected previously adopted secularization (Bangladesh). At the same time, the present process of invasion of politics by religion has common features. All religious political movements have two tendencies inherent in them: one is progressive, antiimperialist and against exploitation, the other is conservative. Which of them assumes the foreground depends on the character of the political forces appealing to religion.

There is no doubt that in a number of countries of traditional prevalence of Islam, secularization of society will take place, being brought on by the requirements of state life, but no basis exists for anticipation of weakening of Islamization in the immediate future. The contradictory nature of social processes in countries of the "Islamic world" is inherent in contemporary models of the "Muslim path of development, persistently advertised as a barrier of defense against capitalism and at the same time as a protective screen against the spread of socialist ideas. These conceptions of the "Muslim path of development are the subject of a separate article.

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INTERNATIONAL

MANDARIN-LANGUAGE BROADCAST ALLEGES TAIWAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM

OW221333 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to China 1430 GMT 21 May 83

[Commentary by station observer Balov: "Comments on Chiang Ching-kuo's Statement to a reporter of West German weekly DER SPIEGEL"]

[Text] A few days ago, the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL published a statement by Chiang Ching-kuo, chieftain of the Taiwan regime, to a reporter of the magazine. He reiterated that Taiwan has the capability to produce nuclear weapons. In this connection, station observer Balov writes:

Why did Chiang Ching-kuo mention that Taiwan has the capability to produce nuclear weapons? Was this a boasting of Taiwan's scientific and technological achievements? However, nuclear weapons are not something people feel happy about. A natural conclusion from this is that Chiang Ching-kuo's remarks that Taiwan has the capability to produce nuclear weapons were made for Beijing leaders.

Chiang Ching-kuo's remarks that Taiwan has the capability to produce nuclear weapons are not bluff and bluster. Foreign experts have long believed that Taiwan is capable of producing nuclear weapons of mass destruction. As early as 8 years ago, the American weekly TIME reported that Taiwan was making preparations for producing atomic bombs and that scientists in Taiwan were testing such weapons with computers as Israel did. This weekly also reported that Taiwan was building a missile launching site as part of its plan to develop a nuclear-weapons delivery system.

Taiwan has done a lot of work in this regard since 1975. Its first nuclear power plant went into operation in 1976. Since then it has secretly accumulated plutonium for the development of nuclear weapons. Since it now has four nuclear power plants, it must have accumulated a large amount of plutonium. Scientists there also know how to retrieve used nuclear fuel. An American satellite recorded a secret explosion off the coast of the Republic of South Africa in 1979. U.S. military experts confirmed that it was a nuclear test.

In August 1980, American observer Anderson quoted a U.S. CIA expert as saying that it was an atomic bomb test jointly conducted by South Africa,

Israel, and Taiwan. Anderson also reported that these three countries had signed a secret, unofficial agreement on the development of nuclear weapons. Incidentally, Chiang Ching-kuo inadvertently blurted out to a NEWSWEEK reporter last year that Taiwan had been capable of producing atomic bombs since 1978. Now you listeners can compare this with the secret explosion off the coast of South Africa in 1979.

In recent years, Taiwan has continuously done a lot of work in developing nuclear means of delivery. THE FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW published in Hong Kong wrote in 1978 that the Zhongshan Academy of Sciences, the top-secret center for the development of modern weapons, was testing a ground-to-ground missile with a range of 960 km. This Hong Kong magazine also pointed out that there was every reason to believe that experts from Israel and South Africa were participating in this project.

Two years later, or rather, in December 1980, American observer Anderson said in a report published in the WASHINGTON POST that Israel, South Africa, and Taiwan would soon jointly produce strategic cruise missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads 1,500 nautical miles away.

Thus, Taiwan can launch missiles from the island or from warships on the high seas to destroy Beijing and other cities on the Mainland China. It should also be pointed out that Taiwan has acquired the ability to produce nuclear missiles with the support of foreign forces. These foreign forces, of course, are not Israel and South Africa alone. Israel, South Africa, and Taiwan all are customers of the United States which has supplied the former with weapons and also provides them with technologies for producing weapons. For years, Taiwan's experts have done extensive research on top-secret technologies related to the development of nuclear missiles. The contacts in this regard have not been suspended although the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan. It was reported last month that the United States and Taiwan would expand their cooperation in nuclear research. According to TASS, a draft agreement provides that the United States and Taiwan will extensively exchange information, experts, and technologies on the question of nuclear fuel.

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INTERNATIONAL

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL NOTES FRIENDLY TIES BETWEEN DAGESTAN, KOSOVO

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian publishes on 2 June 1983 on page 3 a 500-word interview by TASS Belgrade correspondent M. Abelev with M. Krstich, chairman of the Serbian Committee for Relations with Foreign Countries, in connection with Krstich's visit to the RSFSR for "consultations on questions of the development of the friendly ties between the RSFSR and the Socialist Republic of Serbia." In discussing these ties, Krstich mentions "the reliable contacts between the two autonomous regions of our republic--Vojvodina and Kosovo--and Krasnodar Kray and Dagestan." Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian publishes on 5 June 1983 on page 5 a 300-word interview by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent Yu. Shvetsov with Krstich in connection with the same visit. Krstich is quoted: "The friendship between Kosovo and Vojvodina, on the one hand, and Dagestan and the RSFSR's Krasnodar Kray, on the other, have good possibilities."

CSO: 1807/274

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

ANDROPOV WORKS PUBLISHED--Paris, 18 May--"Following the Road of Socialism" is the title of a book published here by the Pergamon Press France publishing house which includes published works, speeches and statements by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It has been produced as a mass publication in the "Marxism-Leninism" series. [TASS report: "Following the Road of Socialism"] [Excerpt] [PM191237 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 83 First Edition p 1]

DELEGATION TO WEST BERLIN--A CPSU delegation headed by Comrade Anderson, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which went to West Berlin at the invitation of the leaders of the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, has returned to Moscow. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 12 May 83 LD]

TRADE OFFICIAL IN LONDON--London, 18 May (TASS)--A jubilee conference of the London Chamber of Trade and Commerce has been held here. Taking part in the conference was a Soviet Government delegation headed by A. N. Manzhulo, deputy USSR minister for foreign trade, which has come to the British capital for the 11th session of the standing Soviet-British Intergovernmental Commission on Scientific-Technological and Trade and Economic Cooperation. Prominent representatives of Britain's business circles and public gathered at the conference. Speaking at the conference, J. Cooper, director of the Soviet section of the London Chamber of Trade and Commerce, noted that the Soviet Union is opening up broad opportunities for trade with the West. He expressed the opinion that Great Britain should strive to expand mutually beneficial commercial relations with the USSR. A. Manzhulo noted in his speech that opportunities exist for considerable expansion of British-Soviet business ties. However, he said, this will to a large extent depend upon whether favorable trade and political conditions for such a process are to be created. [Text] [ID180205 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2325 GMT 17 May 83]

TALKS IN LUXEMBOURG--Soviet-Luxembourg political consultations on issues of mutual interest have taken place in Luxembourg. Taking part were Fokin, secretary general in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Udumyan, USSR ambassador in Luxembourg; (Wagner), secretary general in the Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and competent associates in the Luxembourg Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [LD230125 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 22 May 83]

ALL-UNION ORIENTALISTS CONFERENCE--From 25 to 27 May the second All-Union Conference of Soviet Orientalists was held in Baku. It was dedicated to the role of contemporary Oriental studies in the study of the countries of Asia and Africa. Sections of the conference considered the social and economic problems of the Eastern countries, which are exerting ever more influence on world politics, as well as questions of history, philology and culture. Orientalist scholars from Bulgaria, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, Mongolia, Vietnam and Afghanistan were at the conference. K. M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the conference. [Text] [Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 May 83 p 2]

U.S. PEACE DELEGATION IN ALMA-ATA--(KAZTAG)--A delegation of American members of the public who participated in the second meeting of members of the Soviet and American public "For Peace and General Security," which was held in Moscow, has been in Alma-Ata. [Excerpt] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 May 83 p 3]

HAROLD WILSON IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--H. Wilson, president of the Great Britain-USSR Association and former prime minister of England, arrived in Tashkent with a delegation of the association, which he is heading. On 16 April, H. Wilson and other members of the delegation met with N. D. Khudayberdiyev, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers. B. A. Abdurazakov, Uzbek SSR minister of foreign affairs, took part in the conversation. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 17 Apr 83 p 2]

TRADE OFFICIAL IN PARIS--Paris, 26 May, TASS--France's Minister of External Trade and Tourism Edith Cresson, during her meeting here today with Yevgeniy Pitovranov, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that French firms are very much interested in cooperation with the Soviet Union and are ready to work for further development of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between the two countries. Yevgeniy Pitovranov is in Paris to attend the 32d Congress of the International Union on Protection of Industrial Property. [Text] [LD262325 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 26 May 83]

PUBLISHING AGREEMENT WITH AUSTRIA--Vienna, 21 April, TASS--An agreement was signed here today on cooperation in publishing and distribution of books between the USSR State Committee for Printing, Publishing and Book Trade and the main union of Austrias Publishers and Book Traders. The agreement envisages further expansion and deepening of links between the publishing houses and trade firms of both countries in the sphere of publication and distribution of fiction, literature for children and popular science books. Speaking at the agreement signing ceremony, president of the main union of Austrian Publishers and Book Traders. O. Hausa expressed confidence that the agreement would promote further development of fruitful cultural exchange between Austria and the USSR, consolidation of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries. [Text] [LD280500 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 21 Apr 83]

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NATIONAL

CONFERENCES ON USSR 60TH ANNIVERSARY DETAILED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 1 Mar 83) pp 152-158

/Articles by various authors: "Devoted to the 60th Anniversary of the USSR"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ The international conference on the topic "The Great October Revolution, Socialism and the Solution of the Nationality Question," held in Yerevan, was organized by the problem commission of multi-faceted cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the socialist countries, "The History of the Great October Revolution and the Ensuing Socialist Revolutions," by the Yerevan State University and the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution," by its Armenian section, by the Institute of History of the USSR of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and by the Institute of History of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences. The conference heard 30 reports delivered by scholars from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, and Czechoslovakia.

The conference was opened by the head of the department of history of the CPSU, Yerevan University, Academician of the ArSSR Academy of Sciences /Ts. P. Agayan/. The introductory speech was delivered by the pro-rector of Yerevan University, doctor of philosophical sciences, Professor /L. M. Karapetyan/, who elucidated the successes in the development of the economy and culture of the ArSSR, which are witness to the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU.

The plenary session heard the following four reports. The sector chief of the IML /Marxism-Leninism Institute/ of the CPSU CC, doctor of historical sciences, Professor /M. I. Kulichenko/ showed the contribution made by V. I. Lenin to the building of the USSR. By working out a strategy and tactics for the Bolshevik Party in the Socialist Revolution and by determining the ratio of forces in solving its social tasks and the tasks of national liberation, V. I. Lenin and the party achieved the internationalistic consolidation of the working people. Lenin's genius illuminated the path of the transition to socialism of the peoples who were at various levels of economic and political development. This leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state caught with amazing accuracy the changes in the mood of the working people of the outlying national minorities, particularly with regard to the question of national statehood; he took into consideration the entire aggregate of factors which defined the approach to the

nationality problem. He creatively approached the choice of state forms for combining the peoples so that, under the conditions of building socialism, this would facilitate the close consolidation of all nationalities within a fraternal union of equals. In speaking about the creation of the USSR, the rapporteur noted that it was precisely Lenin who discovered such a form, one which made it possible to combine many nations and nationalities within a union of equal and sovereign socialist republics. The formation of the USSR laid the foundations for strengthening the friendship of the peoples, along with their further flourishing and drawing closer together.

Academician of the Armenian Academy of Sciences /Ts. P. Agayan/ dwelt in his report on the importance of the formation of the USSR for the rebirth of the Armenian people; he showed how, thanks to the enormous concern of the Communist Party, of V. I. Lenin personally, with the aid of the RSFSR and the other fraternal republics, Soviet Armenia achieved the heights of social progress.

The report of Doctor of Historical Sciences /Ye. N. Gorodetskiy/ (Moscow) was devoted to the topic "The Great October Revolution and the Creation of the Soviet Multi-national State in Soviet Historiography." After revealing the basic stages of the development of the above-mentioned problem by the social scientists and having characterized the traits of the literature on this topic, he outlined a number of questions which need further development, including the following: a comprehensive study of the activity of the Narkomnats /People's Commissariat of Nationalities/, the creation of special works on the extraordinary commissars--the party plenipotentiary ambassadors to the national regions--and others.

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /V. I. Salov/ (Moscow) subjected to criticism the latest bourgeois falsifications of the history of the formation of the USSR. He demonstrated that the anti-communist ideologists have paid a great deal of attention to this question, falsifying the nationality policy of the CPSU. In bourgeois historiography an increasingly clear tendency is being followed of abandoning the very concepts of "internationalism" and "patriotism" and of substituting class with national and then with nationalistic. V.I. Salov drew the attention of the conference participants to the necessity of effectively exposing our ideological adversaries.

A great deal of space in the reports within the sections was occupied by Leninist themes. Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /M. A. Arakelyan/ (Yerevan) revealed the basic positions of the Leninist nationality program of the Bolsheviks. After thoroughly analyzing the first party program adopted by the Second Congress of the RSDLP from the point of view of reflecting the Leninist principles of solving the nationality question in it, he showed how in the ensuing years V. I. Lenin developed the positions of the nationality program of Bolshevism. Moreover, by struggling against nationalism of all shadings, stated the rapporteur, Lenin thereby laid out the path to the international unity of all the country's revolutionary forces.

Professor /D.V. Dzhabidze/ (Tbilisi) devoted his presentation to V.I. Lenin's leadership of the internationalistic activity of the Bolsheviks of Transcaucasia, directed at consolidating the peoples of this region on a class basis.

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /S. V. Kuleshov/ (Moscow) undertook an attempt to sum up the Leninist positions on the relationship between the class and the national within the Socialist Revolution, as well as to elucidate the question of the consideration by the Bolshevik Party of the nationality factor in ensuring the international unity of actions of all the detachments of the political army of the Socialist Revolution. Based on Lenin's work, the problem of combining the international and the national factors in defense of the gains by the Socialist Revolution, the unconditional primacy of the former over the latter was shown by Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /A. Ya. Titarenko/ (Kiev).

Doctor of Historical Sciences /P. M. Shastitko/ (Moscow) touched upon the question of V. I. Lenin's flexible and prudent approach to the establishment of correct mutual relations between the Center and the outlying nationality areas of Russia after the victory of the Soviet regime. Vladimir Il'ich took into account all the complexity of the tasks confronting the party in this field, the difficulties of overcoming the heavy hand of the past in the sphere of international relations. The speaker accorded particular attention to V. I. Lenin's leadership in putting into order the relations of friendship and national equality of rights in the regions with a Muslim population.

Substantial attention was paid at the conference to revealing the international importance of the Soviet experience in solving the nationality question.

The foreign guests who appeared spoke about the importance of the Leninist principles of approaching the regulation of problems dealing with national reciprocal relations (the solution of basic social problems as a first prerequisite in this process; the necessity of conducting a policy of de facto equality of the peoples; the obligation of the leadership role of the Communist Party with its extensive arsenal of means for the internationalistic rallying of the working people, etc.). These principles formed the basis of the nationality policy of the party and the state not only in the USSR but also in the other countries of the socialist community.

At the same time it was noted that the solution of the nationality question in the states which were represented by the guests at the conference was not a mechanical copying of the Soviet experience but rather its creative adaptation under the specific conditions of each individual country. Thus, /D. Michev, Ts. Nikolov/ (Bulgaria), and /L. Kevago/ (Hungary) elucidated this question as applied to their own countries. Moreover, an analysis was provided of the nationality situation in the given state under capitalism, and it was noted that only with the victory of the Socialist Revolutions did there appear the possibility for carrying out the equal rights of all nations and nationalities. /Ju. Křižek/ (Czechoslovak SSR) spoke about the problems which had to be solved by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with respect

to the nationality question, the difficulties and errors, and overcoming them from an internationalist point of view.

/Sh. Natsagdorzh/ (Mongolia) pointed out the importance of the formation and development of the USSR (and especially the experience of the Central Asian republics) for the Mongolian People's Republic, while the representatives of Cuba--/A. Garcia/ and /P. Mironchuk/--examined the question of the emergence of new socialist national relations, and in this context they touched upon a number of problems connected with the formation of the Cuban socialist nation.

The influence of the victory of the Great October Revolution on the growth of the national-liberation movement was examined by senior scientific colleague of the IML of the CPSU CC, Candidate of Historical Sciences /L. N. Lebedinskaya/. She subjected to criticism the nationalistic distortions by the bourgeois falsifiers of the mutual relations between the USSR and the developing countries, and she disclosed the role which is being played by the Soviet multi-national state in supporting their struggle for national independence against imperialism.

Candidate of Historical Sciences /M. A. Daniyalov/ (Makhachkala) exposed the unfounded attempts on the part of bourgeois historians to misrepresent the CPSU's policy with regard to the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Daghestan. Questions of socialist integration and the new type of mixed-nationality relations connected with this--relations of socialist internationalism, genuine equality, and friendship of the peoples were elucidated in his communication by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor /M. M. Arustamyan/ (Yerevan). "The Importance of the Formation of the USSR for the Non-Soviet East" was the topic of the report by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /A. N. Kheifets/ (Moscow).

A number of presentations were devoted to the specific lines of the internationalist activity of the Bolshevik Party during the years when the Soviet multi-national state was being created. Corresponding Member of the LaSSR Academy of Sciences /I. K. Apine/ (Riga) dwelt on the general and the particular in the nationality policy of the Communists of the Baltic region in the years 1917--1920.

Academician of the BSSR Academy of Sciences /I. M. Ignatenko/ (Minsk), in disclosing the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the creation of state sovereignty for the Belorussian people, paid principal attention to the first phase of this process. He showed how the national-liberation movement developed within the indicated region, and he elucidated the activity of the Northwestern Oblast Committee of the RCP (b), its role in creating a basis for the affirmation of the Soviet regime on Belorussian soil, and later on in the formation of the BSSR.

Academician of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences /Sh. T. Tashliyev/ (Ashkhabad) devoted his report to the topic of "Internationalists in the Struggle for the Power of the Soviets in Central Asia." The international nature of the

Great October Revolution, he emphasized, was also expressed in its support by the representatives of the revolutionary international proletariat. The speaker cited a great deal of factual material on the activities of the internationalists in the Central Asian region.

The role played by the plenipotentiary organs of the RCP(b) in the struggle to implement the nationality policy in Turkestan during the years 1918--1924 was elucidated by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /V. M. Ustinov/ (Moscow). Speaking about the assignments of these organs--the "Special (Provisional) Commission for Turkestan Affairs," the Commissions of the RSFSR All-Union Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars (Turkkomissii), the Turkestan Bureau of the RCP(b) CC (Turkbyuro), and the Central Asian Bureau of the RCP(b) CC (Sredazbyuro)--with regard to rendering multi-faceted aid to the Communist Party of Turkestan from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars, he showed what efforts were undertaken by them in order to draw the peasant masses of Central Asia into participating in building socialism. The rapporteur dwelt on how the plenipotentiary organs of the RCP(b) CC aided the young communist organizations of Turkestan, as well as those of Bukhara and Khorezm, to overcome errors in the nationality question caused by the lack of the necessary experience, to struggle against nationalistic deviations, that is, to solve those tasks without the successful implementation of which it would be impossible for the Central Asiatic peoples to make the transition from feudalism to socialism, while by-passing the stage of capitalism.

Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /A. M. Menteshashvili/ (Tbilisi) shed light on the course of implementing the policy of the Communist Party of Georgia during the years 1921--1922; he demonstrated how the heavy heritage resulting from Menshevik rule in this area was overcome. He devoted particular attention to the struggle of the Georgian Bolsheviks against the national-deviationists, who were unsuccessful in their attempt to block the unification of the Transcaucasian peoples.

What kind of attention the party paid to the training of national scientific personnel in Azerbaijan was talked about by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Docent /T. G. Gamidov/ (Baku). Doctor of Historical Sciences /N. A. Tavakelyan/ (Yerevan) devoted his presentation to the topic of the elimination of the de facto inequality among the peoples of the USSR. The problem of Soviet Lithuania's cooperation with the fraternal republics at the present-day stage drew the attention of /K. L. Strumkis/ (Vilnius). A number of other reports were also heard.

The presentation of Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /L. M. Zak/ (Moscow) was devoted to the historiography of the topic "Traits of the Development of the Socialist Nature of the Peoples of the USSR."

At the conference's concluding session recommendations were adopted in the plan for further research on the problems of the history and theory of the nationality question.

S. V. SERGEYEV

* * *

In Maykop at the Adygeyskiy State Pedagogical Institute there was held an expanded session of the problem council of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education entitled "The Communist Party as the Organizer and Inspiration for the Victory of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War." Taking part in its work were scholars from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Grodno, Vologda, Ivanov, Volgograd, Yerevan, Rostov-on-Don, Petrozavodsk, Kuybyshev, Dushanbe, Krasnodar, and other cities throughout the country. This session was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR and the 40th anniversary of the Battle for the Caucasus.

The introductory speech was delivered by the rector of the Adygeyskiy State Pedagogical Institute, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor /A. K. Yachikov/. A report on the "Leninist Nationality Policy and the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" was delivered by the sector chief of the Institute of the History of the USSR of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /G. A. Kumanev/. He characterized the principal stages of nation-building in the USSR and examined the path travelled by the peoples of the Land of the Soviets, headed up by the Communist Party for six decades, a path which has been marked by major achievements in the fields of economics and culture. The example of the Soviet multi-national state has demonstrated to the entire world how peoples which were backward in the recent past can achieve astounding progress during a brief historical period in close fraternal cooperation.

On the basis of specific facts the rapporteur showed that all these achievements were the result of the consistent implementation of the party's Leninist nationality policy. V. I. Lenin was the initiator of numerous concrete steps of the Soviet regime directed at aiding the outlying nationalities. It was in the close connection between the national republics and the Russian toiling masses, primarily with the working class, that the great leader saw the path to their national rebirth and upsurge. As a result, already by the time of the adoption of the 1936 USSR Constitution the nationality question in the country in the historical contents in which it had arisen in the depths of the old society, that is, as the question of eliminating the national oppression, inequality, and antagonism between nations, had successfully been resolved.

G.A. Kumanev noted that the strength of the Land of the Soviets, the indissolubility of the ties connecting all its component nations underwent a severe testing of their viability and firmness during the years of the Great Patriotic War. This war visibly demonstrated that the peoples of the USSR only in fraternal alliance and by their common strength could defend their own independence, which had been gained by the Great October Revolution. It frustrated the hopes of world imperialism for a rebirth of national internecine strife and for the collapse of the Soviet multi-national state.

After healing the grave wounds inflicted by the war, the Soviet Union, the rapporteur stated further, achieved still more significant economic and

cultural growth on the path to creating a new society. On the eve of the 60th jubilee of the USSR, in fulfilling the historic outlines laid down by the 26th CPSU Congress for further improving the developed socialist society, Soviet people take legitimate pride in noting the successes achieved in various spheres of social life, including the implementation of the CPSU's Leninist nationality policy, a policy which has radically transformed the life of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR and cemented them into an indissoluble fraternal state union.

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /I. Z. Zakharov/ (Leningrad) in his report entitled "The Communist Party as the Organizer of the Victorious Alliance of Fraternal Peoples in the Great Patriotic War" noted that a powerful source of victory in the Great Patriotic War was the leadership and guiding activity of the Communist Party, which mobilized the country's military-economic potential for smashing the German-Fascist predators and which rallied all the nations and nationalities of our multi-national Motherland.

Professor /G. P. Ivanov/ (Krasnodar) delivered a report entitled "The Peoples of the Northern Caucasus in the Struggle against the German-Fascist Occupation Regime during the Period of the Battle for the Caucasus." The speaker showed the multi-faceted work of the party organizations with regard to mobilizing the population to fight against the fascist predators and with regard to organizing the partisan movement during the occupation period.

In the communication of Professor /A. N. Verbilo/ (Kiev), entitled "The CPSU as the Organizer of the Indoctrination of Working People and Soldiers in the Spirit of Friendship among the Peoples, Soviet Patriotism, and Proletarian Internationalism during the Years of the Great Patriotic War," it was especially noted that the Soviet people indoctrinated by the party at the front and in the rearline areas proved the effectiveness of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The internationalist and patriotic indoctrination of the working people has always been and remains today one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party's ideological activity.

The presentation of Candidate of Historical Sciences /Ye. M. Malysheva/ was devoted to the topic of "The Influence of the Alliance between the Workers and Peasants on Strengthening the Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR during the Years of the War against the Fascist Predators." She dwelt particularly on the party's multi-faceted work with regard to strengthening the alliance between the workers and peasants during the wartime years as one of the most important sources of the Soviet people's victory.

"The Patriotic Sacrifices of the Kolkhoz Peasantry in the Northern Caucasus during the years of the Great Patriotic War" was the topic of the report by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /I. I. Vinogradov/ (Leningrad).

Certain results of a study of the activities of the CPSU with regard to strengthening the friendship of the peoples of the USSR in the Battle for the Caucasus comprised the subject of the report by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /F. B. Komala/ (Leningrad).

The chief of the Scientific Communism Sector of the Armenian Branch of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU CC, Professor /V. A. Muradyan/ delivered a report entitled "The Basic Directions of the Party Activity in the Field of National Relations during the Years of the Great Patriotic War."

The report of Professor /G. A. Dokuchayev/ (Kuybyshev) was devoted to a study of the Leninist program for creating industry in the country's national regions and its role during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The report of Docent /A. S. Skhakumidov/ (Maykop), "The International Nature of the Patriotic Sacrifice of the Soviet People in the Great Patriotic War," as well as the presentation of Docent /P. D. Tepun/ (Rostov-on-Don) shed light on the party's experience in strengthening cooperation among the peoples of the USSR during the wartime years.

Problems of the party leadership of the internationalist and patriotic indoctrination of the working people under contemporary conditions as well as the indoctrination of the younger generation, based on the example of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, were elucidated in the reports of the leader of the lecture group of the Adygeyskiy CPSU Obkom, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences /R. A. Khanakhu/ (Maykop), the secretary of the Shovgenovskiy Party Raykom, /L. M. Kuvayeva/ (Shovgenovskiy aul), Docent /D. M. Naguchev/ (Maykop), member of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, Professor /A. A. Tomashevskiy/ (Leningrad). The topic of the presentation by Docent /S. N. Yakayev/ (Krasnodar) was connected with the activity of the Lenin Komsomol with regard to the internationalist indoctrination of Soviet youth.

The session adopted recommendations directed at raising the level of research work on the Council's problems.

Ye. M. MALYSHEVA
(Maykop),

V. Yu. YUZZHALINA

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The Odessa Obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Inter-Oblast Scientific-Methods Council of Social-Science Instructors of the Odessa VUZ Center organized a scientific conference devoted to the glorious jubilee. Taking part in its work were social scientists from the Odessa, Nikolayevsk, and Kherson Oblasts, secretaries of the VUZ partkoms, and the leading officials of Odessa's party organs. The conference was opened with the introductory speech delivered by the secretary of the Odessa Obkom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, /G. D. Maksimenko/.

The plenary session heard three reports devoted to various aspects of the internationalist activities of the party, the historical importance of the CPSU's experience in creating and developing a new form of state-national

association. The report of Hero of the Soviet Union, chief of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Odessa State University, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /N. M. Yakupov/, entitled "The 60th Anniversary of the USSR Is a Triumph of the Leninist Nationality Policy," emphasized that V. I. Lenin provided deep foundations for his position on the unity and integrity of the working class's international and national tasks, on the organic combination of patriotism and internationalism. The formation of the USSR was an embodiment of these principles. The speaker shed light on the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the activity of the CPSU with regard to solving the nationality question, the theoretical contribution made to working out the important problems of the nationality policy by the documents of the CPSU, by the works of the leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The head of the Department of Political Economy, Odessa State University, Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor /A. G. Lobunets/ delivered a report on the topic "The Socio-Economic Progress of All the Nations and Nationalities of the USSR." The speaker underscored the fact that further rapprochement of the nations is caused by the entire process of the development of a mature socialist society, the struggle to create the material-technical base of communism, and by scientific and technical progress, all of which determine the necessity for an increasingly closer, multi-faceted, fraternal cooperation among the Soviet republics in economic construction for the best possible utilization of the advantages of the socialist system and for speeding up the pace of building communism, in which all the nations and nationalities of the USSR are vitally interested.

The presentation of the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Odessa Higher Engineering Maritime College, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /V. D. Slutskiy/ disclosed the international importance of the CPSU's experience in solving the nationality question.

A report entitled "Party Leadership of the Work of Higher Educational Institutions in Propagandizing the Soviet Way of Life" was delivered by the first secretary of the Central Raykom of the Communist Party of the Ukraine in the city of Odessa, /R. B. Bodelan/, who thoroughly analyzed the contents, forms, and methods of the ideological-indoctrinational work of the VUZ party organizations, directed at propagandizing the socialist way of life and at working out an active, vital point of view for the student youth.

The report of the head of the Department of Scientific Communism, Odessa Electrical-Engineering Institute of Communications, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /Z. V. Balobayeva/ provided a critique of the bourgeois and revisionist views on the further development of the socialist nations.

Working at the conference were four sections, devoted to the following timely problems: the role of the party in the formation of the USSR; strengthening cooperation among the peoples of the USSR in the struggle to build developed socialism; the creation of a unified national-economic complex as a material base for the friendship among the peoples of the USSR; the development of

Soviet statehood. The sectional sessions heard and discussed 79 reports and communications.

In his concluding speech the chairman of the Inter-Oblast Scientific-Methods Council, Professor /N. M. Yakupov/ summed up the results of the conference's work, emphasizing the importance, the scientific and practical significance of the reports and communications connected with an analysis of the CPSU's nationality policy and with the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

L. I. KORMICH,

V. I. SHAMKO
(Odessa)

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"The Formation of the USSR as a Triumph of the Leninist Nationality Policy" was the topic of a scientific session organized by the Chuvash Obkom of the CPSU, the Volgo-Vyatka Regional Scientific-Methods Council of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Chuvash State University imeni I. N. Ul'yanov, and the Scientific-Research Institute of Language, Literature, History, and Economics of the Chuvash ASSR Council of Ministers. Taking part in the session were party, Soviet, and Komsomol workers, as well as faculty members from Chuvash VUZ's. More than 60 reports and communications were heard from scientists from Moscow, Leningrad, Gor'kiy, Kazan, Kuybyshev, Yoshkar-Ola, Saransk, Ul'yanovsk, Yaroslavl', Kirov, and Cheboksary.

At the plenary session a report entitled "The Formation of the USSR and Its World-Historical Significance" was delivered by the secretary of the Chuvash Obkom of the CPSU, Candidate of Historical Sciences /A. P. Petrov/. Also heard were reports by the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Gor'kiy State University, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /V. Ya. Dobrokhotov/, "The Leading and Organizing Activities of the Communist Party in the Development of the Nations and Nationalities of the USSR, in Strengthening Their Fraternal Union," Candidate of Philosophical Sciences /Zh. G. Golotvin/, "The Flourishing and Rapprochement of the Nations of the USSR under the Conditions of Developed Socialism," the chairman of the Presidium of the Chuvash ASSR Supreme Soviet, Candidate of Juridical Sciences /S. M. Islyukov/, "The Development of Socialist Democracy and Further Consolidation of the Multi-National Soviet State," the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Moscow Institute of Electronic Machine Building, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /Ya. G. Zimin/, "The Exacerbation of the Ideological Struggle in the International Arena and the Tasks of the Communist Indoctrination of the Working People." Three sections were in operation at this conference. The first of them was devoted to the topic of "Solving the Nationality Question and Nation-State Building in the USSR" (based on materials of the Volgo-Vyatka Region). Doctor of Historical

Sciences, Professor /Yu. I. Vorobtsov/ (Leningrad) made a report on the strengthening of the international unity of the Bolshevik Party during the period of preparation for the Great October Revolution, and Doctor of Historical Sciences /A. V. Sedov/ (Gor'kiy) reported on the topic of "The International Class Nature of the Peasant Committees of the Central Volga Region in 1917."

Based on an analysis of new materials, a communication was constructed, entitled "V. I. Lenin's Role in the Formation of the Statehood of the Peoples of the Central Volga Region and the Ural Region (Historiography of the Problem)" by the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Chuvash State University, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /V. N. Lyubimov/.

Problems of nation-state building in the internationalist indoctrination of the working people in Chuvashia during the years 1917--1936 were reflected in the reports by Doctor of Historical Sciences /I. D. Kuznetsov/, Candidates of Historical Sciences, Docents /V. L. Kuz'min, V. I. Makarevskiy/ (Cheboksary). Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /F. G. Yevgrafov/ (Gor'kiy) delivered a report entitled "Toward an Historiography of the Formation of the Nizhegorodskiy (Gor'kovskiy) Kray and the Cooperation among the Peoples of the Volga Region during the Years 1929--1936." "The Guiding Role of the Communist Party in the Emergence of the Kolkhoz Peasantry as a Class in the Years 1929--1936 (Based on the Materials of the Gor'kiy Kray)" was the topic of a communication by the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU, Mariyskiy State Pedagogical Institute, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /V. A. Yeroshkin/.

The sessions of the second section, "International Ties, Development, and Rapprochement of the Socialist Nations and Nationalities," heard reports by Candidates of Historical Sciences, Docents /G. P. Petrov/ (Cheboksary), "The Implementation of the Leninist Ideas of Electrification as the Foundation for the Development of the Autonomous Republics of the Volgo-Vyatka Economic Region (1920--1970)," /K. N. Sanukov/ (Yoshkar-Ola), "Economic Cooperation among the Peoples of the Volga Region under the Conditions of Developed Socialism." The head of the Department of Philosophy of the Chuvash State University, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor /A. I. Petrukhin/ devoted his communication to disclosing the principles of the development of the national languages during the period of socialism, the role of the Russian language--the language of international communication--as an important factor in the development and rapprochement of the nations and nationalities. The expansion and deepening of international ties based on specific examples were shown in a step-by-step manner by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /R. G. Khayrutdinov/ (Kazan'), and by Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /N. I. Ivanov/ (Ul'yanovsk), and others.

More than 20 reports were delivered at the sessions of the third section, which examined questions of the patriotic and international indoctrination of working people: presentations by Candidates of Pedagogical Sciences /Ye. V. Vasil'yev/ (Cheboksary) on the topic "The International Indoctrination of the Student Youth in the Traditions of the Friendship among the

Peoples of the Central Volga Region," and /A. M. Tokarev/ (Cheboksary), "Patriotic and International Indoctrination within the System of Party Instruction," and others.

The system adopted recommendations the purpose of which is to activate the research work of the region's scholars in the field of nations and national relations, the flourishing and rapprochement of the socialist nations and nationalities under contemporary conditions.

V. N. LYUBIMOV
(Cheboksary)

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A scientific and technical conference, devoted to this noteworthy date, was held at the Leningrad State University imeni A. A. Zhdanov. Taking part in its work were instructors from the departments of social sciences, along with graduate and undergraduate students.

The conference was opened by the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU and the Humanities Faculties of the LGU, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /V. A. Smyshlyayev/. He noted that the creation of the Soviet multinational state, which was the implementation of the Leninist principles of the nationality policy, had become an extremely important topic of scholarship on the history of the party and of works of Soviet social scientists. With a great deal of attention the conference participants listened to the presentation of CPSU member since 1918 /M. V. Roslyakov/--a delegate to the historic First All-Union Congress of Soviets, which proclaimed the formation of the USSR, as well as a number of party congresses in the pre-war years. And today, as a deputy to the Leningrad Soviet, a delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress, Mikhail Vasil'yevich Roslyakov is devoting all his efforts and skills to propagandizing the great Leninist ideological heritage and the indoctrination of the rising generation.

A report entitled "The Creation of the USSR Is the Embodiment of the Leninist Principles of Nationality Policy" was delivered by Doctor of Historical Sciences /M. M. Dyatlova/, who examined in detail the multi-faceted activities of V. I. Lenin and the Communist Party with regard to the formation of the Soviet multi-national state.

"Internationalization of the Cultures of the Peoples of the USSR as an Important Factor in the Formation of a New Historical Community of People--the Soviet Nation" was the topic of the presentation by Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /L. N. Kruzheleva/.

The principal attention therein was paid to the problem of the synthesis of the cultures of our country's peoples, their reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment under the conditions of developed socialism.

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /I. V. Pogorel'skiy/ in his report told the conference about the history of the program developed by V. I. Lenin for uniting the Soviet republics on the basis of federation. "An Integrated

National-Economic Complex Is the Economic Foundation for Friendship among the Peoples of the USSR" was the topic of the presentation by Docent /G. V. Gorlakov/.

In a report entitled "The Principle of Proletarian Internationalism in the Organizational Structure of the CPSU" Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor /Yu. I. Vorobtsova/ noted that our party's experience in solving these problems is of great importance. On the basis of concrete examples, she analyzed the tendencies toward expanding the representation of various nationalities and increasing the proportion of the indigenous nationality in the composition of the national republics' party organizations. Docent /N. M. Rakhmanov/ delivered a communication on the problem of "V. I. Lenin on the International Essence of the Soviets as the Political Form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

The pro-rector of the LGU for international ties, Docent /B. M. Novikov/ told the conference about the expansion of scientific-pedagogical contacts with foreign higher educational institutions, about the training in the university of specialists for other countries. Today the LGU has an enrollment of approximately 1200 foreign undergraduate and graduate students. The speaker noted that this is an important part of all VUZ work, requiring the attention of instructors and public organizations, in particular, in the plan of indoctrinating the students in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

Communications disclosing various aspects of the party's practical activity were delivered by the following graduate students: /M. V. Bushevaya/ talked about the importance of the CPSU's historical experience with regard to the ideological-political indoctrination of the national minorities, and /O. F. Lobanova/ dwelt on the problem of "The Soviet of People's Deputies as a school for the Consolidation of the Peoples of the USSR."

The results of the conference were summed up by the head of the Department of the History of the CPSU and of the Natural Sciences Faculties of the LGU, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent /K. A. Kuznetsov/. He noted that all the reports were devoted to the timely problems of the history of the CPSU and the Soviet multi-national state. The speakers underscored the determining importance of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the decree of the CPSU CC entitled "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" for deepening the study of the problems of the Leninist nationality policy.

A. L. MURAV'YEV
(Leningrad)

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NATIONAL

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES MEETINGS ON USSR 60TH ANNIVERSARY

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 22 Feb 83) pp 209-210

[Text] On 8 December 1982 the anniversary session of the USSR Academy of Sciences General Meeting honoring the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was held in Moscow. Representatives gathered in the hall from the capital's scientific community, delegations from the union republic academies of sciences, as well as from the academies of sciences of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Vietnam, German Democratic Republic, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Cuba, Mongolian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Romania, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The presidium was comprised of K. U. Chernenko, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, B. N. Ponomarev, Politburo member candidate and CPSU Central Committee secretary, M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, directors of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the union republic academies of sciences, and the academy presidents of the socialist countries. With great inspiration the meeting participants selected an honorary presidium comprised of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The meeting was called to order by Academician A. P. Aleksandrov, USSR Academy of Sciences president. Academician V. A. Kotel'nikov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented a paper entitled "The 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR and the Development of Soviet Science."

The scientist said that the 60th anniversary of our Soviet state is a clear testimony to the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party, to the historic achievements of socialism. The merging of equal Soviet republics into a single harmonious family has greatly facilitated the rapid scientific-technical and social progress of our homeland, which now occupies positions of world leadership in many important directions of modern science.

Having characterized in his speech the subsequent historical development of Soviet science in the RSFSR and other union republics since the first years of Soviet rule, the speaker noted that today in the 14 republic academies there are about 370 scientific institutions employing 193,000 associates including

1,400 academicians and corresponding members and around 3,200 doctors of sciences. Added to this is the large detachment of scientists of the Russian Federation. Academic science in the RSFSR today (not counting Moscow and Podmoskov'ye, Leningrad, and the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences) is comprised of over 70 scientific institutions employing around 24,000 associates.

Our social sciences have attained a high level, and comprise the scientific basis for management of the society's development.

The speaker noted the strengthening international scientific cooperation of scientists from the Soviet Union, primarily with the scientists of the brother socialist countries, the ever more active scientific ties with the capitalist and developing states, and stressed the fact that despite the efforts of imperialist forces to hinder this, the USSR Academy of Sciences is implementing fruitful cooperation with the scientific institutions and scientists of over 100 countries.

The directors of the union republic academies of sciences who spoke at the meeting presented a broad picture of scientific research in our country. They noted that the creation and rapid progress of the republic academies in the years of Soviet rule is the result of the formation of the USSR, the unselfish aid on the part of the Soviet state, Russian scientists, and brotherly mutual support of the Soviet republics. Each of the republic academies has its own inimitable aspect, which is greatly determined by the capacities and needs of the economy in the given republic.

The meeting participants directed a letter of greeting to the CPSU Central Committee with great enthusiasm. In the name of the multimillion army of scientific activists, the meeting expressed in this letter its avid support for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum and unanimously supported the positions and conclusions contained in the speech given by Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the plenum. The scientists assured the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers that they will make every effort to fulfill the history outlines of the Leninist party in the name of the triumph of communism and peace on earth.

Session of USSR Academy of Sciences History Department

The anniversary scientific session of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department took place on 1-2 December 1982 in Moscow.

Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy, department academician-secretary, opened the session with an introductory speech. The union of equal Soviet republics into a single friendly family of peoples, he said, has to a great degree facilitated the rapid economic, scientific-technical and social progress of our homeland, and has also had a fruitful effect on the development of historical research.

The presentation by S. L. Tikhvinskiy analyzed the activity of the humanitarian institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department, the union

republic academies of sciences, the Siberian Department and Far-Eastern Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and stressed the pressing need for further improvement in the coordination of their work with each other and with the central institutes. Based on the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and other party documents, we must, noted S. L. Tikhvinskiy, define the directions of further current research, particularly on such important questions as studying the means and forms of ripening and strengthening the new historical community--the Soviet people.

Speeches at the session were presented by: Dr. Hist. Sciences S. S. Khromov, director of the USSR Institute of History ("Historical Experience in the Formation and Development of the USSR and the Problems of Its Study"); Academician Yu. V. Bromley, director of the Ethnography Institute ("National Processes in the USSR and the Basic Directions of Their Ethnographic Study"); Academician A. L. Narochitskiy ("Historical Significance of Experience in the USSR's Struggle for Peace and Safety and the Problems of Its Study"); P. A. Zhilin, chief of the Military History Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member ("Friendship of USSR Peoples--An Important Factor in Defending the Socialist State"); D. F. Markov, director of the Slavic and Balkan Studies Institute and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member ("The USSR and the Foreign European Countries: Experience in the Study of Historical and Cultural Ties"); Yu. A. Polyakov, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member ("Numbers and National Composition of the USSR Population: Summaries and Research Methodology").

Others who spoke at the session were Academician B. A. Rybakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Archeology Institute, B. A. Tulepbayev, vice president of the KaSSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, as well as directors and administrators of history institutes: R. S. Vasil'yevskiy, USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Department; Kh. F. Usmanov, USSR Academy of Sciences Bashkir Branch; Ya G. Abdullin, the Kazan Branch; and administrators of history institutes of union republic academies of sciences: P. Sh. Petrikov (BSSR), M. A. Akhunova (UzSSR), D. E. Odisheliya (GSSR), V. I. Tsaranov (MSSR), V. Yu. Karalyun (LaSSR), A. K. Kanimetov (KiSSR), B. I. Iskanderov (TaSSR), and K. K. Siylivask (ESSR).

Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute

The meeting of the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute in honor of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR was held on 29 November 1982.

Z. V. Udal'tsova, institute director and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, presented the speech, "The 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR and Its International Significance." Having examined the theoretical and practical significance of the solution to the national question in the USSR for the fate of world peoples and the great inspirational example of progress in economics, science and culture in the union republics, the flourishing of socialist democracy here, she devoted particular attention to the effect of the USSR's formation and development on the world revolutionary process.

Also presenting speeches and reports at the Scientific Council were: Dr. Hist. Sciences S. S. Salychev, head of the sector on the History of the International Revolutionary Movement ("V. I. Lenin's Contribution to the Development of Marxist Theory on the National Question"); Dr. Hist. Sciences N. M. Lavrov, head of the sector on History of Latin American Countries ("The Formation of the Soviet State and the Development of the Revolutionary Process in Latin America"); Cand. Hist. Sciences B. M. Tupolev, head of the sector on History of Colonialism and National Liberation Movement ("The Formation of the Soviet Union and Its Effect on the Peoples' Anticolonial and National Liberation Struggle"); Dr. Hist. Sciences A. O. Chubar'yan, head of the sector on Current History of West European Countries ("The Formation of the USSR and the Struggle of the Soviet State for Peace and Peoples' Safety"); Dr. Hist. Sciences V. L. Mal'kov, head of the sector on Historical-Theoretical Problems ("The Formation of the USSR and the Position of the United States"--speech prepared jointly with Dr. Hist. Sciences B. I. Marushkin).

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VYGODSKIY ON LENIN'S UNDERSTANDING OF MARX

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[Article by V. S. Vygodskiy: "V. I. Lenin on the Significance of the Theoretical Legacy of K. Marx"]

[Text] Seventy years ago, in connection with the 30th anniversary of the death of K. Marx, V. I. Lenin published in the legal Bolshevik press a work entitled "Three Sources and Three Constituent Parts of Marxism" and one entitled "The Historic Destinies of the Teachings of Karl Marx": the first--in the March issue of the theoretical monthly PROSVESHCHENIYE for 1913, and the second--in the newspaper PRAVDA of 1 March of the same year.

In spite of the fact that these two works far from exhaust the list of Lenin's works which reveal the teachings of Marx, it is in these works that Lenin for the first time in the history of Marxism gave a general description of Marx's theory as a whole. In the first place, he presented this theory as a direct continuation and the result of the development of leading social thought and at the same time a qualitatively new stage in this development. "Marx's teachings," emphasized General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yu. V. Andropov, "presented in the organic totality of dialectical and historical materialism, political economics and the theory of scientific communism, was an authentic revolution in our philosophy and at the same time lit the way for the most profound social revolutions."¹ In the second place, Lenin pointed out the main sources of Marxist theory and traced the dialectic of their transformation into constituent parts of the unified international teachings of the working class. In the third place, Lenin revealed the structure of Marx's theory, the content of its three constituent parts, their interaction in the history of Marxism and their organic interconnection. Finally, in the fourth place, Lenin showed the growing significance of Marx's theory in social development.

Lenin considered a most important feature of Marxism to be its organic link with revolutionary practice. Generalizing the experience of the revolutionary movement, Marxist theory gives the working class and its party as well as all other workers a program, a strategy and tactics for their struggle.

Lenin showed that the development of Marxism takes place in an irreconcilable struggle with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology, with revisionism and

opportunism. At the same time, while defending the teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin constantly emphasized the need for a creative approach to the theory and practice of Marxism. Lenin's theoretical legacy is an example of such an approach.

Lenin's teachings about the leading role of the party and the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the construction of socialism and communism, and about the growth of this role as an objective pattern in the development of the socialist society means also a larger role for Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism is an unshakeable foundation for communist parties in their struggle against imperialism in communist creation, in the rise of the ideological and theoretical level of communists, in the formation of a scientific world view, and in the increased awareness of the masses.

"... in Marxism there is nothing like 'sectarianism' in the sense of some closed, ossified teaching which appears at the side of the main path of development of world civilization," wrote Lenin. "On the contrary, all of Marx's genius consists precisely in that he gave answers to questions which the leading thought of mankind had not yet raised. His teachings arose as a direct and immediate continuation of the teachings of the greatest representatives of philosophy, political economics and socialism."² Lenin devoted a great deal of attention to the argumentation for this most important point, which asserts the predictable nature of Marxism as a scientific theory and also emphasizes its revolutionizing role in the history of social thought.

First of all he analyzes three main theoretical sources of Marxism--the German philosophical materialism of Feuerbach and Hegel's dialectics, the English classical bourgeois political economy of Smith and Ricardo, and the French utopian socialism of Saint-Simon and Fourier; he notes their immense role in the development of social thought and also reveals the principle shortcoming they all had in common: the incompleteness, the inconsistency and the lack of the necessary totality in elucidating social processes. Marx's theory was the culmination of the aforementioned teachings and thus the "correction" of the aforementioned radical imperfection, the theoretical surmounting of this. Thus Marx brought to philosophical materialism a materially reworked dialectic,³ "that is, teaching of its development in a form that was fuller, more profound and free of one-sidedness," and "brought it to completion and disseminated it . . . to the awareness of human society."⁴ Lenin called the dialectical-materialist understanding of history created by Marx and Engels --historical materialism--"the greatest achievement of scientific thought."⁵ The first great discovery of Marx and Engels, the revolution they accomplished in philosophy, consists precisely in this.

The development of historical materialism, the transformation of dialectical materialism into dialectical and historical materialism, that is, into "completed philosophical materialism,"⁶ acts as a requirement of the dialectical-materialist method which prescribes regarding general laws of nature, society and thought in their organic totality. And since this latter is actually achieved only in the process of social development,⁷ it is precisely historical materialism that is the culmination of Marx's philosophical materialism.

Ensuing from the dialectical-materialist understanding of history, as Lenin pointed out,⁸ was the fundamental conclusion about the decisive (in the final analysis) role of the economic structure, that is, the system of production relations, in the political views, philosophical teachings and so forth, about the decisive role of productive forces in the consistent and progressive development of socio-economic formation (Lenin called them "structures of social life"). This conclusion meant for Marx the primary necessity of in-depth economic research,⁹ and it led, as Vladimir Il'ich noted, to a situation where economic study became the main content of Marxism.¹⁰ "Having recognized that the economic structure is the basis on which the political superstructure is raised, Marx devoted more and more attention to studying this economic structure. Marx's major work, "Das Kapital," is devoted to studying the economic structure of the modern, that is, the capitalist society."¹¹ This conclusion, moreover, transformed the dialectical-materialist understanding of history into a methodological basis for Marxist political economy,¹² and he emphasized the dialectical interaction of productive forces and production relations as a force of economic and, in the final analysis, of all social development, and he produced decisive statements regarding the subject of economic research. Indeed, public production is the dialectical and contradictory unity of productive forces, and production relations and is the subject of Marxist political economics.¹³ In "Das Kapital" Marx also regards every economic category as a unity of substantial content which, in the final analysis, reflects the level of development of productive forces and the social form to which one or another aspect of production relations corresponds.

The dialectical-materialist understanding of history was developed by Marx and Engels during the first half of the 1840's, and it was at this same time that Marx began the political and economic research during the course of which he soon revealed the fundamental role of the labor theory of value which was created by the classics of bourgeois political economics in explaining economic processes in the capitalist society. This theory whose "basis" was laid, as Lenin notes,¹⁴ by classical economists, also acts--following pre-Marxist materialism and dialectics--as a second fundamental source of Marxism. Its essential shortcoming consists in that in the interpretation of bourgeois economists it does not reflect the specific nature of the capitalist method of production--the nature of labor relations in a bourgeois society or the basic class relationship between the worker and the capitalist. A. Smith assumed that the law of value in general does not operate in a capitalist economy; and Ricardo's attempt to explain the exchange between labor and capital within the framework of the labor theory of value ended in failure. Only Marx "strictly argued and consistently developed this theory."¹⁵

Lenin further singles out those fundamental points with which Marx developed the labor theory of value: 1) the specific nature of socially necessary labor which creates value;¹⁶ 2) social relations which operate on the surface of the society as an exchange of commodities; 3) money as a form of economic ties with producers; 4) capital which is characterized by the transformation of labor force into commodities and the creation, within the framework of value relations, of added value--the source of wealth of the capitalist class; 5) the victory of large capitalist production in industry and agriculture

and, as a result of this, the creation of the "monopolistic position of the alliances of the largest capitalists."17

The statement of this last thesis was the result of an intensive development of the theory of imperialism which was carried out by Lenin beginning in the 1890's. (In the work he wrote in 1914, "Karl Marx," he gave a more developed formulation of this point: the growth of monopolies and financial capital was represented as a manifestation of the processes of collectivization of labor and, "the main material basis for the inevitable appearance of socialism"18).

Having completed his description of Marxist economic theory, Lenin writes about the aggravation of capitalist contradictions: the level of collectivization of production is rising, which is manifested in the fact that "hundreds of thousands and millions of workers are being joined together into a planned economic organism," and at the same time "there is increased production anarchy, crises, a wild struggle for the market, and a lack of provision for the existence of the masses of the population."19

The doctrine of added value, whose creation was Marx's second great discovery and a revolutionary change in political economics, was characterized by Lenin as the "cornerstone of Marx's economic theory."20 It is precisely the doctrine of added value that determines the economic law of movement of the capitalist society and the basic tendencies in its development.21

Only Marx's scientific socialism, since it obtained a philosophical (historical-materialist) and economic (theory of added value) substantiation, could explain the essence of capitalist exploitation, reveal the laws of the development of capitalism, and point to the working class as 'that social force' which is capable of becoming the creator of a new society. 22

Having applied a dialectical-materialist understanding of history to their contemporary bourgeois society, Marx and Engels formulated the main tenets of the theory of scientific socialism. Since Marx first came to the conclusion that the proletariat, if it wishes to liberate itself from the oppression to which it is subjected in a bourgeois society, must destroy this society, which is based on private property, and create a society without classes, a communist society--since this time, using Engel's words, "the theoretical expression of the positions of the proletariat" in the class struggle with the bourgeoisie, "the theoretical generalization of the conditions for the liberation of the proletariat,"23 have been a task of Marxist teaching.

Marx's source here, in addition to the teachings of utopian socialism, expounded by the French scholars Thierry, Guizot, Mignet and Thiers, was the history of the class struggle which was for them the "key to understanding all French history."24 In this area too the revolutionary turnabout achieved by Marx consisted in that he sequentially developed the theory of the class struggle, having come to a conclusion about the decisive role of the working class in the transition from capitalism to communism and about the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat. "Only Marx's philosophical materialism," emphasized Lenin, "pointed out to the proletariat the escape from their spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have vegetated up until the present day."25 Engels drew special attention to the revolutionary nature of

those conclusions which followed from the materialist understanding of history: "... with further development of our materialist thesis and when it is applied to modernity, the prospects are immediately opened up to us for a great, the greatest revolution of all times."²⁶

But the theoretical development of problems of scientific socialism was certainly not completed in the 1840's; on the contrary, at that time this development was just started. It was still a scientific hypothesis, but, as Lenin wrote, "a hypothesis which for the first time created the possibility of a strictly scientific attitude toward historical and social issues."²⁷ In particular, the materialist concept of history pointed out the need for economic research in order to further develop and substantiate scientific socialism.

In order to clarify the actual position of the working class in a bourgeois society and give a scientific prediction of the future it can expect, it was necessary to reveal the essential tendencies in the development of capitalism and the mechanism of its functioning. Marx did this in "Das Kapital," where scientific socialism was given an economic substantiation. "Only Marx's economic theory," emphasized Lenin, "explained the real position of the proletariat in the overall structure of capitalism."²⁸ Additionally, this marked the completion of the process of the transformation of socialism from a hypothesis into a scientifically proven thesis.²⁹

Lenin drew special attention to the fact that Marxism "extends the recognition of the class struggle to a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."³⁰ The course of the development of history has fully confirmed the Marxist-Leninist tenet about the political dominance of the working class which is, in Engel's description, "the only door to the new society."³¹ A state with the dictatorship of the proletariat was an important implement for socialist construction in the USSR. With the victory of socialism, as the historical experience of our country shows, the state was transformed into a political organization of all the people, while retaining the leading role of the working class. The nationwide state, which is the development of socialist statehood along the path of communist social self-control, continues the dictatorship of the proletariat under new historical conditions.

Marxist-Leninist parties in countries of developed capitalism, which have historical traditions of parliamentary democracy take into account the possibility of various forms of transition to socialism. Here they proceed from the idea that the leading role of the working class in the construction of socialism and its political dominance over the bourgeoisie for purposes of subsequent destruction of classes, that is, that which Marx, Engels and Lenin called the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a necessary condition for the creation of a new society.

The content of Lenin's work convincingly shows that the development of Marxist theory has unwaveringly taken place in organic unity and interaction of its three constituent parts--philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism. Of course each of these has its own subject of investigation and develops independently. But this independence is purely relative since without their mutual influence and mutual enrichment, Marxism could not be developed as a total theory.

Thus the main provisions of scientific socialism were formulated by Marx and Engels as a conclusion from a materialist understanding of history and as a result of economic research. In turn, historical materialism was a methodological basis for further development of Marxist political economics, and the need for further development of the theory of scientific socialism made this research inherently necessary. Finally, the development of economic theory essentially enriched the materialist understanding of the historical process. Such interaction took place throughout all the theoretical activity of Marx and Engels, and it was also highly typical of the research of Lenin, who developed Marx's theory under new historical conditions. Let us give a couple of examples.

Marx and Engels unwaveringly displayed interest in the problem of crises, and during the 1840's and 1850's they still related them directly to the approach of a revolutionary situation, thus overestimating their destructive force. They wrote about trade crises which, returning periodically, "more and more threateningly bring into question the existence of the entire bourgeois society."³² They also wrote about the fact that "another revolution is possible only after another crisis. But its approach is just as inevitable as the approach of the latter."³³

Marx developed his theory of crises at the end of the 1850's and the beginning of the 1860's. Here he explained for the first time the cyclical development of capitalist production; the periodic nature of crises, at the basis of which lies a renewal of fixed capital; he showed that "there are no permanent crises."³⁴ (In the 1870's Marx came to a conclusion about the existence of a stable tendency toward reduction of the time periods of the cycle, which is the result of the acceleration of technical progress.³⁵ This tendency is also in effect under the conditions of modern capitalism.) Marx went on to show that economic crises, being a reduction into one and a forced equalization "of all contradictions of bourgeois economics," will at the same time serve as an important accelerator of the growth of productive forces. They force capitalist production "outside its own boundaries and force it to take giant steps in order to achieve that--with respect to the development of productive forces--which it would have carried out very slowly within its own boundaries."³⁶ While they are the objective expression of economic contradictions of capitalism, economic crises do not thus, in and of themselves, show that this method of production has already exhausted all of the possibilities for its development. Characterizing the prerequisites for a proletarian revolution in 1881, Marx noted the existence of an "inevitable dissolution of the reigning social structure which is constantly taking place before our eyes" at the same time when there is "positive development of the means of production which are advancing forward with giant steps."³⁷

Developing these tenets of Marxist theory, Lenin showed that even in the age of imperialism "the possibility of reducing production outlays and increasing profit by means of making technical improvements" is an effective stimulus for the development of productive forces--along with the tendency toward decay.³⁸ This circumstance, however, in no way contradicts Lenin's description of imperialism as a dying, ripe and overripe capitalism which is standing on the brink of its destruction so as to give way to socialism. It shows only

the extreme antagonism of all the contradictions of a bourgeois society in the age of imperialism.

Thus Lenin's political and economic research led him to important conclusions regarding the theory of scientific communism and specifically regarding the theory of the socialist revolution. The totality of Marx's theory, manifested in the organic unity of its three constituent parts, is also typical, as we can see, of the Leninist theoretical legacy.

The research on the formal and actual subordination of labor to capital as two necessary stages in the historical development of the capitalist method of production, which Marx did in the 1860's, also had direct significance for the theory of socialist revolution. The first of these stages is characterized by the establishment of bourgeois relations toward the "old," still pre-capitalist production basis; the second stage is the development that takes place on its own basis. The fundamental conclusion regarding the materialist understanding of history which Marx drew from his research consists in that a necessary material prerequisite for the new social formation is that level of productive forces and collectivization of production which is adequate for its development on the previous production basis for the time being.³⁹ And only then does the new method of production begin to develop continuously on its own basis, which Marx characterizes as "a complete (and permanently continuing and repeating) revolution in the method of production itself, in labor productivity and in the relationship between the capitalist and the worker."⁴⁰

The experience of the first years of socialist construction enabled Lenin, under new historical conditions, to argue theoretically the difference between the initial collectivization of the means of production and material and spiritual values, which involves only a change of the owner, and the actual collectivization of these.⁴¹ Along with the primary importance of this result, including for an analysis of developed socialism, it serves as a further substantiation for the Marxist theory of socio-economic formations and its universal significance.

In "Das Kapital" Marx revealed the objective, strictly predictable nature of economic processes in a bourgeois society. Using the example of classical--English--capitalism, he proved that the development of an economic formation is a "natural historical process," that the economic laws of this formation and the tendencies in its development are in effect and are realized "with an iron necessity," regardless of the level of development of one country or another. "A country that is more industrially developed shows a less developed country only a picture of its own future."⁴² The general nature of the effect of economic laws of the capitalist method of production is explained in Marx's economic theory by the fact that the essence of capitalist exploitation and the means of assimilation by capitalists of the unpaid labor of the workers exerts a certain influence on the method of production and, through it, on the entire economic structure of the society as well as its political structure. And since the essence of the capitalist assimilation is the same in both developed and backward capitalist countries, the laws of development should be the same in both places. Lenin's analysis of the development of capitalism in Russia brilliantly confirmed these methodological tenets of Marx's theory.

While investigating the capitalist economy, Marx concretized the tenet of historical materialism concerning the specific nature of the action of the laws of the development of society which, as distinct from the laws of nature, are effected through the mediation of human activity and realized in a class-antagonistic society in the form of the class struggle. "People always have been and always will be the benighted victims of deceit and self-deceit in politics," wrote Lenin when summing up his analysis of scientific socialism as a constituent part of Marx's theory, "until they learn to look for the interests of one class or another behind any moral, religious, political or social phrases, statements or promises."⁴³ This is precisely why one of the most typical features of Marxism is its clearly expressed social nature, its striving toward action and toward practice. "For a communist . . .," noted Marx and Engels, "everything consists in revolutionizing the existing world, taking practical actions against the existing state of things and changing them."⁴⁴ Marx showed that the objective economic laws of capitalism are realized during the course of the persistent class struggle which is an important objective factor that influences the effect of these laws and is capable, without changing the laws themselves, of essentially changing their form and sometimes paralyzing their effect.⁴⁵ From Marx's economic theory, it follows that the struggle of the working class with the class of capitalists itself is economic potential, and it is not only possible, but also necessary in a bourgeois society. If the workers refused to fight against "the predatory encroachments of capital," Marx emphasizes, "they would grow into a solid mass of downtrodden beggars for whom there would be no salvation."⁴⁶

The explanation of the extremely close interconnection among the three sources and the three constituent parts of Marxism is important not only to understand the actual course of Marx's development of his theory; it is also necessary for a correct understanding of the content of this theory itself.

Thus an essential task for Marx was to introduce into economic research on the dialectical-materialist method the only thing that would enable him to overcome anti-historicism, which is generally inherent in bourgeois political economics. Marx formulated this task that was facing him quite distinctly as "the first attempt to apply the dialectical method to political economics."⁴⁷ Thus Marxist political economics is a dialectical-materialist science. This means that a "positive understanding of what exists includes at the same time an understanding of its negation, its necessary destruction; it regards every realized form in motion, thus including its transitional aspect as well; it bows before nothing, and in its very essence it is critical and revolutionary."⁴⁸ This means, further, that the economic argumentation for socialism acts as a necessary element of Marxist political economics which Lenin described as socialist economics.⁴⁹

Lenin's work is directed toward a total study of Marx's theoretical legacy and makes it easier to understand that only this entire legacy in its totality and in its inseparable connection with its constituent parts produces an adequate idea of Marx's theory and method.

The scientific and technical revolution has become the main sphere of competition between the two socio-political systems in our age, and it is impossible to interpret it from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist teaching only if one takes into account all of the constituent parts of this teaching that are considered above. Only the analysis of the development of productive forces and large machine production that is given by Marx makes it possible to correctly evaluate the peculiarities of the scientific and technical revolution and its social consequences. Because of the fact that science is beginning to play a leading role in the structure of public productive forces, it itself is becoming a direct productive force⁵⁰ which increases sharply the significance of intensive factors in economic growth. The latter turn out to be more dependent on the progress of science and technology than on the number of machines and the quantity of labor force. The Marxist analysis of modern capitalism reveals those profound contradictions encountered in the development of productive forces.⁵¹ Conversely, socialism has objective capabilities of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of a socialist economy.

Having considered the process of the dissemination of Marxism in connection with the course of historical development during 1848-1913 and having thus singled out three crucial moments in world history: the 1848 revolution, the Paris commune of 1871 and the first Russian revolution of 1905, Lenin wrote: "After the appearance of Marxism each of the three great eras of world history have produced new confirmations and new triumphs. But an even greater triumph will be brought to Marxism as the teaching of the proletariat, by the forthcoming historic age."⁵²

Lenin's prediction came through: Marxist theory, developed more than 100 years ago, is serving the cognition of modern reality with increasing success. Decisive credit in this belongs to Lenin himself, who comprehensively developed Marx's theory with respect to investigation of the new historic age--the age of the dying out of capitalism and the beginning of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. Additionally, Lenin's theoretical analysis follows directly from the teachings of Marx and is an immediate continuation of them. Lenin found in Marx's theory the necessary points of departure for investigating modernity which enabled him to carry out this research on the basis of Marxist teachings.

Lenin discovered the essence of imperialism for the first time, formulated its basic indicators and pointed out the tendencies of development, including the development of state-monopolistic capitalism. Lenin showed that the typical feature of imperialism is political reaction throughout its entire line as a result of the extreme aggravation of all the contradictions of the capitalist society. He came to the conclusion that imperialism is an immediate predecessor of socialism.

In his analysis of imperialism Lenin relied directly on Marx's theory, "having proved through theoretical and historical analysis of capitalism that free competition gives rise to concentration of production, and this concentration in a certain stage of its development leads to monopolies."⁵³

The growth of capitalism into a new stage of development was noted even by Engels, which is shown by a number of remarks and additions he made in the 1880's and 1890's to the third volume of "Das Kapital," in which he discusses the appearance of "new forms" of capitalist associations--industrial and financial monopolies--the growing export of capitalism, the dividing up of the world by large companies, and so forth.⁵⁴ But much more important is the fact that Marx's theory contained conclusions relative to the basic tendency of the development of capitalism with free competition in the mature phase of its evolution--the tendency toward monopolization of production and circulation. Lenin emphasized that, having been transformed into a special stage, into imperialism, capitalism has nonetheless not ceased to be capitalism. "Imperialism has grown up as the development and direct continuation of the basic properties of capitalism in general"⁵⁵--this point of Lenin's clearly shows Marx's research methodology, about which he wrote in the works considered above. Indeed, Lenin's theory of imperialism was created on the theoretical and methodological basis of Marx's theory and within the framework of the latter.

This fundamental point of Lenin's was reflected not only in the research on imperialism itself, but also in the development of the Program of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). Polemicizing with the Bukharin concept of "pure imperialism," Lenin wrote: "Pure imperialism has never existed without the fundamental base of capitalism, does not exist anywhere and never will exist. This is an incorrect generalization of all that has been said in the syndicates, cartels, trusts and financial capitalism, when financial capitalism was depicted as though it were not based on the foundations of old capitalism."⁵⁶

Thus all of the main patterns in capitalism that were formulated by Marx are applicable--and actually were creatively applied by Lenin--also to the age of imperialism, the age of the dominance of monopolies. "... the very deepest economic basis of imperialism," he wrote, "is the monopoly. It is capitalist monopoly, that is, it has grown out of capitalism and is found in the general circumstances of capitalism, commercial production and competition, in the constant and inescapable contradiction with this overall situation."⁵⁷

At the same time Lenin demonstrated that the age of imperialism is a qualitatively new and higher stage in the development of capitalism which is characterized by the immense development of production concentration, as a result of which this latter is predictably transformed into monopolies. The result of this process is the gigantic collectivization of production and the dominance of the largest enterprises where production outlays are considerably less than the average for the branch. Under the conditions of imperialism the technical superiority of monopolistic enterprises is steady and prolonged and it makes it possible for them to obtain monopolistic super profit almost all the time. The monopolies strengthen this superiority through the most varied means: seizure of the sources of raw material, combined production, buying up of patents, artificial spreading of relatively small producers, and so forth. An important source of monopolistic super profit is still the reduction of production outlays as a result of scientific and technical progress. Yet the very fact of its existence shows how, under the conditions of

imperialism, the fruits of technical progress are assimilated by the small group of monopolists who exact tribute from the entire society.⁵⁸

Lenin repeatedly emphasized the fact that functioning of monopolies presupposes competition among capitalists, which is certainly not destroyed, but, on the contrary, is strengthened under imperialism. But this means that under the conditions of monopolistic capitalism the category of average profit is retained. The monopolies impede, but do not destroy tendencies toward equalization of profit. Intra- and interbranch competition impedes the inflation of prices by monopolies. Conversely, any weakening of competition leads to a gigantic increase in prices and contributes to the wealth of the financial oligarchy.

The fact that Lenin's theory of imperialism as an organic development of Marx's theory is of principle significance for solving modern problems of scientific socialism. The age of imperialism, as Lenin demonstrated, has brought an immense increase in the exploitation of the workers by the ruling classes--an exploitation which, although it is carried out as before within the framework of the general laws of capitalism, is still the result of qualitative changes in the collectivization of production, first in the process of the development of monopolies and second in the process of the growth of monopolistic capitalism into state-monopolistic capitalism. This has meant that the conclusion concerning the need for a socialist revolution which was drawn from Marx's theory is fully confirmed by Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Lenin creatively developed Marx's theory of socialist revolution and formulated a conclusion about the possibility of the victory of socialism initially in one of several countries. He drew this conclusion on the basis of an analysis of the specific nature of the effect of the law of uneven development of capitalism in its monopolistic stage. Lenin's conclusion has been confirmed by the entire course of the world revolutionary process.

Lenin devoted a large part of his work to the problem of the methodology of research, particularly the question of concretizing Marx's theory and further developing it on his own basis. Marx's economic theory, which was created on the basis of research on "classical" English capitalism of the middle of the 19th century, required the development of a number of intermediate stages in order for it to be applicable to an analysis of the tendencies in the development of such a country, for example, as Russia. These intermediate stages could be found only in the process of concrete economic research and the disclosure of patterns effective in it. And simply to "superimpose" the theoretical model on the real economy leads to the false conclusion that the theory is not confirmed. In a letter to the magazine OTECHESTVENNYE ZAPISKI (1877) Marx noted: "In order to have the opportunity to judge knowledgeably the economic development of Russia, I studied the Russian language and then for many years studied official and other publications that pertain to this subject." Marx emphasized further: it is impossible to come to an understanding of one phenomenon or another, "using universal keys in the form of some kind of general historico-philosophical history."⁵⁹ Marx did not manage to bring this research to completion, but the cycle of Lenin's work of the 1890's which culminated with the appearance of the book "The Development of

Capitalism in Russia" is a direct continuation of this research. The striking correspondence between the structure of Marx's rough materials devoted to this problem and Lenin's preparatory materials for his book⁶⁰ corresponded to Marx's tenets. "One should, of course . . . keep in mind," wrote Marx, "that as soon as we are faced with some concrete economic phenomenon we cannot simply and directly apply general laws to it."⁶¹ ". . . an explanation of how capitalism develops in general," wrote Lenin, "does not in the least advance the work on the question of the 'possibility' (or need) for the development of capitalism in Russia." "The application" of Marx's theory to Russia, he emphasized further, "can consist only in using the devices of the materialist method that have been worked out and theoretical political economics to investigate Russian production relations in their evolution." And the only criterion for the correctness of the research that has been done consists, in Lenin's opinion, "in the facts of modern Russian economic reality."⁶²

Thus as early as 1893-1894, at the very beginning of his research work, Lenin consistently applied the dialectical-materialist method, which enabled him to investigate the entire totality of data concerning the reform development of Russia and then, having generalized these data, to show that the tendencies of this development coincide with the overall tendencies of the development of capitalism that were revealed in Marx's theory. This also meant that in Russia there was necessarily a process of capitalist development. Additionally this was a decisive refutation of the populist doctrine.

Lenin showed that the peasantry in Russia is being crowded out by "completely new types of rural population, types which are the basis of a society with a prevailing commercial economy and capitalist production. These types are the rural bourgeoisie (primarily petty) and the rural proletariat" ⁶³ The theoretical assumption for this very important conclusion was Lenin's work, "Regarding the So-Called Question of Markets" in which he singled out two stages in the historical genesis of capitalism: the transformation of the natural economy into a commercial one, and the commercial economy into a capitalist one. There is no space between them--the first stage necessarily leads into the second.

Lenin went on to show that in the post reform economy in Russia, three stages of industrial development of capitalism coexist: simple capitalist cooperation, capitalist manufactory and large-scale machine industry, and the "capitalistically used workers" comprise more than two-thirds of those employed in industry.⁶⁴ "The link and the succession of the forms of industry we indicated," wrote Lenin, "are the most direct and closest. The facts quite clearly show that the main tendency of small-scale commercial production consists in the development of capitalism, in particular in the formation of a manufactory and the manufactory grows with immense speed before our eyes into large machine industry."⁶⁵ Thus he finally solved the problem of the nature of the economic structure of Russia and the tendencies of its development which coincided with the general tendencies of the development of capitalism which were revealed in Marx's theory and which proved its applicability to the specific conditions of Russia.

Also ensuing from Lenin's research was the fact that under the specific conditions of Russia the working class was called upon to be the leading force not only in the socialist, but also in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This conclusion was fully confirmed during the course of the first Russian revolution. "The leading role of the proletariat," Lenin wrote in 1907, "was completely revealed. It was also revealed that its force in the historical movement is incomparably greater than its proportion in the overall mass of population."⁶⁶ Lenin also noted that the economic basis of one phenomenon or another is proved by an analysis of the socio-economic structure and the class structure of Russia, which is contained in the book "The Development of Capitalism in Russia."

The consideration of the genesis of Marx's theory, its main content, its structure and its dissemination during the process of historical development, which was carried out by Lenin in his first two works of 1913, thus relied on Lenin's own research in which he essentially developed all three constituent parts of Marxism with respect to the new historical age.

The research conducted by Lenin of Marx's theoretical legacy is of immense political and methodological assistance. Lenin revealed that revolutionary change in man's social awareness that was accomplished by Marx and Engels who showed the working class and the masses of workers the way to the annihilation of exploitation, to a society without classes, to communism.

Lenin investigated the process of the formation and development of Marxism. From his works one can see the incorrectness of any attempts to juxtapose various stages in the history of Marxism, Marx the scholar and Marx the revolutionary, Marx and Engels, and so forth. Lenin warned: ". . . the theoretical victory of Marxism forces its enemies to clothe themselves as Marxists."⁶⁷ It is typical of modern falsifiers of Marxism to juxtapose the revolutionary theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the petty bourgeois, essentially "democratic" Marxism which, according to one of its theoreticians, "fully agrees with the principles of liberal democracy." These theoreticians explain all the difficulties that are being experienced by modern capitalism by the "conflict" between labor and capital, that is, the resistance of the working class to the capitalist class. This is a kind of theoretical "Zubatovism," an attempt to disarm the working class and thus defend the positions of large capital.⁶⁸ Exposing this kind of falsification, true Marxists have shown that the development of the modern working class as the main productive force of society does not reconcile, but, on the contrary, exacerbates the contradiction between its radical interests and the interests of the bourgeoisie.⁶⁹

Lenin revealed the wholeness of Marxism as a system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views which are organically interconnected, and he showed the inseparable link between Marxist revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. The greatest synthesis of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, and also the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, was the Great October socialist revolution, which opened up a new era in the history of mankind, an era of transition from capitalism to communism, of deliberate restructuring of human society. The socialist revolution has been victorious in a number of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America--and a world system

of socialism has been formed. The international communist movement has been transformed into an influential force of modernity. A whole number of young states that are former colonies of imperialism have entered on the path of independent development. Real socialism, having permanently put an end to crises, unemployment and poverty of the working masses, has thus revealed its decisive advantages over capitalism and has convincingly proved its historical right to exist. "But socialism," said Yu. V. Andropov, "is not constructed under laboratory conditions. It is formed in a situation of class antagonism of two systems, under circumstances of strong pressure from imperialism, and it must surmount internal difficulties. All this is reflected in the rates of our advancement. But this socialism though idealistic is actually existing on earth and is proving increasingly convincingly that the future belongs precisely to socialism."⁷⁰ The entire course of social development confirms the correctness of the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu. V. Andropov, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Several Problems of Socialist Construction in the USSR," *KOMMUNIST*, 1983, No 3, p 10.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Collected Works], Vol 23, p 40.
3. The need to apply dialectics in philosophical materialism has been confirmed by the latest discoveries in natural sciences. Stating this fact, Lenin relied on his own previous research.
4. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, pp 43-44. "Marx and I were almost the only people," wrote Engels, "who preserved from German idealist philosophy the creative dialectic and translated it into a materialist understanding of nature and history." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 10).
5. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 44.
6. Ibid.
7. See A.A. Mamaluy, "Metodologiya 'Kapitala' K. Marksa i sistemnoye yedinstvo dialekticheskogo i istoricheskogo materializma" [The Methodology of K. Marx's "Das Kapital" and the Systematic Unity of Dialectical and Historical Materialism], Kharkov, 1979.
8. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 44.
9. "... The Anatomy of a civil society," Marx wrote in this connection, having in mind the totality of material life relations, "should be sought in political economics." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 13, p 6).
10. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 26, p 51.

11. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, pp 44-45.
12. For more detail see G. A. Bagaturiya and V. S. Vygodskiy, "Ekonomicheskoye naslediyе Karla Marksa (istoriya, soderzhaniye, metodologiya) [The Economic Legacy of Karl Marx (History, Content, Methodology)], Moscow, 1976, pp 186-206.
13. "The subject of investigation," writes Marx, "is primarily material production. . . When speaking about production, it is always about production in a particular stage of social development." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, part I, pp 17, 21).
14. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 45.
15. Ibid.
16. Marx wrote in 1859 that he had "in the very simplest form, the form of the commodity, explained the specifically social, but certainly not the absolute nature of bourgeois production" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 29, p 375.).
17. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 46.
18. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 26, p 73.
19. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 46. Obviously, here too is a reflection of the research Lenin conducted on the monopolistic stage of capitalism.
20. Ibid., p 45.
21. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 10.
22. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 46.
23. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 282.
24. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 26, p 59.
25. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 47.
26. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 13, p 491.
27. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 1, p 136.
28. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 47.
29. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 1, pp 139-140.
30. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 33, p 34.

31. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 37, p 275.
32. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 4, p 429.
33. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 7, p 467.
34. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, part II, p 552. In his criticism of populism Lenin used this point of Marx's theory to show that economic crises do not signify the impossibility of expanded reproduction.
35. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 49, pp 224-225.
36. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 26, Part II, p 567, part III, p 123.
37. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 35, pp 132-133.
38. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 397.
39. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 49, pp 118-119.
40. Ibid., p 90.
41. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 36, pp 181, 293-294.
42. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, pp 6, 9, 10.
43. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 47.
44. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Feyerbakh. Protivopozlozhnost' materialisticheskogo i idealisticheskogo vozzreniyy" [A Juxtaposition of the Materialist and Idealist Views], (A new publication of the first chapter of "German Ideology"), Moscow, 1966, p 33.
45. Laws formulated by science are realized as tendencies in actual reality. Marx noted that "adequate laws of capital . . . act as life tendencies that prevail over capital." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 45, part II, p 155). Engels emphasized that economic laws "have no reality except in approximation, tendencies, the average, but not in immediate reality." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 39, p 355).
46. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 16, p 154.
41. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 31, p 321.
48. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 22.
49. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 17, p 21.
50. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, part II, p 215.

51. The level of productive forces and the knowledge achieved by capitalism and also the "universal striving for emancipation" insistently demand, as the French communists noted, a changeover to socialism, "the creation of a new civilization." (KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 1, p 115).
52. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 4.
53. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 315.
54. See K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, part I, pp 133-134, 480-481; part II, pp 13, 32, 485-486.
55. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, p 385.
56. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, pp 151-152.
57. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 27, pp 396-397.
58. Ibid., pp 310-325, 380-385, 396-406.
59. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 19, p 119; see also p 251.
60. See Archives of Marx and Engels, Vols XI-XIII, XVI, Moscow, 1948, 1952, 1982; V. I. Lenin, preparatory materials for the book "Razvitiye kapitalizma v Rossii" [The Development of Capitalism in Russia], Moscow, 1970.
61. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 47, p 396.
62. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 1, pp 82, 103, 274-275.
63. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 3, p 166.
64. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 2, pp 401-402.
65. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 3, p 542.
66. Ibid., p 13.
67. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 23, p 3.
68. See V. Afanas'yev, "Neomarxism Against the Working Class," VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, 1982, No 9, pp 71-81; S. Oduyev, "The Marxist Philosophical Legacy and Those Who Distort It," KOMMUNIST, 1982, No 16, pp 86-96.
69. See Yu. A. Vasil'chuk, "Nauchnotekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i rabochiy klass pri kapitalizme" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Working class Under Capitalist], Moscow, 1980, p 48.

70. Yu. V. Andropov, "Leninizm -- neischerpayemyy istochnik revolyutsionnoy energii i tvorchestva mass" [Leninism -- An Inexhaustible Source of Revolutionary Energy and Creativity of the Masses], Moscow, 1982, p 13.

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NATIONAL

ROUNDTABLE ON PARTY LEADERSHIP REVIEWED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 83 (signed to press 30 Mar 83)
pp 90-93

[Article by A. K. Shustov (Kostroma): "Toward the Question of Methodological Problems of Examining Party Leadership"]

[Text] Of all the very broad group of issues that were considered in one way or another in the materials of the "roundtable,"¹ in my opinion, of special interest for the development of the science of party history is the interconnection of the leading categories of this science and of party construction: the patterns in the development and activity of the Communist Party, the principles of party leadership, and the forms and methods of party activity.

One cannot understand and it is impossible to reveal the nature of the pattern in the development and activity of the party without considering its link with the development of society itself, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, which is the vanguard of the working class and all Soviet people.

V. I. Lenin pointed out the need to take this connection into account. In his report on the political activity of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on 8 March 1921 to the 10th Party Congress, he said that "Being a mass party, it partially reflects some things that take place outside its ranks. It is very, very important to understand this."² Lenin's idea was reflected in our party's documents, particularly in the account of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress. "Along with the development of our society," it was noted at the Congress, ". . . the party of the communists grows, becomes stronger and matures."³

The manifestations of the links between the party and the society are multifaceted. The constantly growing unity of the Soviet people, the leading role of the working class, the progressive new changes in the environment of the kolkhoz peasantry, the increased role of the national intelligentsia in the scientific-technical and social progress of the society, the development of socialist democracy, the flourishing and rapprochement of nations and many other things in the modern society are reflected in the practice of communist construction. The development and strengthening of the party, in turn, is a decisive condition for its leading role in further improving the socialist society. Moreover, of course, the development of the party as the political organization of the working class and of all the people, as a special political organism, has its own internal factors as well.

"It is precisely the party," emphasizes General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "that has been and still is the powerful, creative, mobilizing force which provides for continuous advancement in all directions of social progress."⁴ And he further notes that in its ideology and in its composition and structure the CPSU is a vital embodiment of the unity and solidarity of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The social contradictions inherent in the socialist system and its development are an object of constant concern for the party. Their influence on the development of the party itself and its activity cannot but be taken into account. Yu. V. Andropov draws attention to this in particular in his article entitled, "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Certain Questions of Socialist Construction in the USSR." Noting the existence of contradictions in the process of socialist development, he writes: "To think that any other course of development is possible means to turn hopefully once again away from the harsh reality and to break with the rudiments of Marxist dialectics. On the theoretical plane, V. I. Lenin explained this issue, relying on Marx's teachings. 'Antagonism and contradiction,' he wrote, 'are not at all the same thing. The former disappears while the latter remains under socialism.'"⁵

This point of Lenin's has been confirmed by the practice of real socialism. Of course it does not follow from this that one can disregard nonantagonistic contradictions, that they can be ignored. Practice shows that if the proper attention is not devoted to contradictions that are not antagonistic by nature, they can give rise to serious conflicts. The task consists in being able to correctly utilize the contradictions of socialism as a source and a stimulus for progressive development.

Additionally, when analyzing the sources and the objective bases of party development one must explain their relationship. Taking into account the fact that the Communist Party is the political vanguard of the working class and of all Soviet people, one should note that the development of the working class and the development of all Soviet people, of the society as a whole are not only external factors with respect to the party. To a certain degree they can be regarded as directly influencing the development of the party itself.

Therefore it is necessary to regard as the leading source of the development of the Communist Party the development of the society itself, in which the Communist Party plays the leading role. One cannot underestimate the constantly growing ideological-political and organizational unity of the party ranks that act as an important source of the development and further strengthening of the party. Of course one cannot underestimate the social contradictions as a source of party development either.

The accent on the interconnection between the development of the Communist Party and the development of the society, on the dialectics of this process, is of great methodological significance. It makes it possible to avoid subjective mistakes when considering questions of party development, to reveal and analyze the objective bases of the patterns of this complicated process, and to clarify profoundly and comprehensively the activity of the party itself for strengthening its ranks and improving its activity under specific historical conditions.

With respect to the issue of the relationships of the patterns of development and activity of the party, the principles of party leadership, and the forms and methods of party work, I should like to discuss the following.

V. Ya. Bondar¹ correctly notes that when investigating the principles of party leadership of a developed socialist society, its political system and all aspects of its life and development, one should not forget about the fact that there are certain patterns which the CPSU takes into account both in intraparty work and in all of its totality. It is also true that in order to realize these patterns it is necessary to have the action of the party and the subjective factor, and this action will be effective with the observance of certain principles.⁶ These remarks outline a fairly well-structured system of interconnections among the main categories of development of the party and party leadership: patterns--principles--activity (in particular forms).

Certain researchers see the complexity of these relations in the fine boundaries between these concepts. One cannot agree with them. Yet I should like to present certain ideas regarding this issue.

The judgment that any law or pattern can act as a principle is somewhat categorical.

First of all, hardly all patterns can play the role of a principle of party construction and party leadership. For example, such an important pattern as the development of the party as a class party does not act as a principle. The same thing can be said about principles. Not every principle of party management or party life manifests itself as a pattern in the development or activity of the party.

But, in my opinion, this is not the main thing. I submit that basic attention should be given to a study of the essential characteristics of the pattern and the principle. Patterns reflect the leading tendencies in the development of the party, regardless of the will of the people. They can be discovered and formulated only on the basis of generalization of historical experience in various stages of the existence and activity of the party. But principles, as other participants in the discussion correctly noted, are fundamental, radical points which lie at the basis of the construction and activity of the party.⁷ Many if not the majority of them were developed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism even before the creation of the party itself, and they now constitute a scientific basis for its construction. Thus V. I. Lenin, on the basis of an analysis of the class struggle of the proletariat even before the creation of a new type of party, determined the fundamental principles of its construction.

Using the example⁸ that has already been giving with proletarian internationalism one can illustrate the relationship between the pattern and the principle of party development.

Proletarian internationalism as the ideology, policy and world view of the working class acts as a principle for the construction and development of the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. But in and of itself it is not a pattern

in its development. The pattern is the consistent observance in the party's vital activity of proletarian internationalism in intraparty and interparty relations. The same thing can be said about democratic centralism. Formulated by V. I. Lenin as a fundamental principle of party construction on the basis of an analysis of the nature of the working class itself, in and of itself it is not a pattern in party development. The pattern is the growing unity of the party on the basis of consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism.

In other words, patterns do not play the role of principles, but consistent following of the principles of their construction makes it possible to reveal the most important patterns in the development of the party.

It certainly does not follow from this that principles do not reflect the patterns of party development and are not coordinated with them. The patterns which are discovered and formulated on the basis of generalization of the experience of party development and its activity make it possible to enrich the principles of its construction and activity with new content, and to utilize them in a purposive way both to strengthen the party and to strengthen party leadership of all areas of social development in order to further improve the society of developed socialism.

Important elements in the interaction between patterns and principles, in my opinion, are the diverse forms of party activity, the norms of intraparty life and the methods of party leadership. And here it is quite correctly noted that in order to embody the requirements of the patterns in life, party activity is necessary, and this activity will be effective with the observance of certain principles.⁹

Now about the system of party leadership of the society of developed socialism. This problem is considered or touched upon in a number of speeches of participants in the "roundtable." Of special significance in this problem is the question of the relationship between direct, unmediated and mediated influence of the party on social processes, its changes as the party itself develops, the growth of its leadership role and at the same time the development of socialist democracy, and the entire political system of the developed socialist society. The speech by G. V. Atamanchuk was devoted to this.¹⁰

It seems that the growth of the leadership role of the Communist Party under modern conditions presupposes the development both of direct and of mediated leadership of the society. Apparently, there is also a gradual and steady increase in the party's direct influence through the system of its agencies and organizations on all aspects and areas of social life. This is manifested in the increased role of local party organizations in the life of labor collectives, and rayon and oblast party committees as centers of political leadership in the rayons and oblasts as well as the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics and the CPSU Central Committee. This is manifested in the increased role of CPSU members and their greater authority and influence among nonparty members. Everyone knows about the attention V. I. Lenin devoted to the connection between the communist and the nonparty masses.

Finally, the increased direct leadership of the society on the part of the party leads to an increased role of mediated leadership through state and public agencies and organizations of specific areas of economic, social and cultural life. And thus the path to the future is opened up for social self-control under the conditions of communism.

Of course, one should take into account the fact that this path is long and difficult. The prospects for communist self-control earmarked by Marx, Engels and Lenin is expressed under modern conditions, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov notes, in the activity of the Soviets which combine legislation, administration and control, and is manifested in the work of trade unions and other social organizations as well as the life of the collectives and the development of the entire political system of our society. ". . . This system," writes Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "functions and improves, finding new forms and methods of development of democratism, expansion of the rights and responsibilities of the working man in production, and in all social and political practice--from the deputies' commissions and people's control to the permanent production conferences. This is real socialist self-control of the people which is developing during the course of the construction of communism."¹¹

Participants in the discussion correctly noted that the special significance of party leadership in the entire system of administration under the conditions of developed socialism consists in that it gives the activity of the political system of socialism a communist direction which provides for mobilization of all units of this system toward solving problems involved in the construction of communism. To investigate the processes of the relations in direct and mediated leadership by the CPSU of all life of our society and its dynamics is a most important task of party construction as a science.

FOOTNOTES

1. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1982, No 9, pp 31-58.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch" [Collected Works], Vol 43, p 16.
3. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 68.
4. See Yu. V. Andropov, "Shest'desyat let SSSR" [Sixty Years of the USSR], Moscow, 1982, p 28.
5. KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 3, p 21; "Leninskiy sbornik XI" [Lenin Collection XI], p 357.
6. See VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, 1982, No 9, p 37.
7. See Ibid., p 51.
8. See Ibid., pp 37-38.

9. See Ibid., p 37.

10. See Ibid., pp 39-40

11. KOMMUNIST, 1983, No 3, p 18

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NATIONAL

VASKHNIL ACADEMICIAN INTERVIEWED ON COLLECTIVE CONTRACT SYSTEM

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Apr 83 p 13

[Interview with Academician Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, VASKHNIL [All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin], by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Kapitolina Kozhevnikova: "Master of the Field"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, agriculture has now been confronted in all its growth by the problem of the collective contract system in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production. The question of its introduction has been considered at a session of the CPSU CC Politburo. In Belgorod an All-Union conference was held devoted to this progressive form of organization and wages, which facilitates an increase in the effectiveness of agricultural production, the strengthening of discipline, and cost accounting. It is well known that you have been studying this for a long time. Of course, the collective contract is not something new. It has already been talked about, fought for, and introduced for many years now. Is it true that this complex problem has a complex history?

[Answer] The collective contract system in agriculture is now moving onto the high road. This is a noteworthy stage in the development of our agriculture. The non-job-authorization system, the "non-order" in common speech, the job contract plus bonus wage system with temporary advances.... There are various names for this form. But the purport is as follows. The entire cycle of growing grains and industrial crops, as is known, is stretched out for quite a long period of time: from spring to autumn. And in the interval between the sowing and the harvest people have to be paid wages somehow. In essence, during this time they receive advance payments for future grown output.

[Question] That is, for that which crowns agricultural production--for the end result?

[Answer] That's entirely right. For many years in our country we have practiced piecework payment on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, under which labor was evaluated according to the actual work done. A machine operator plowed so many hectares, and he was paid a certain amount. And what would be grown on these hectares--no one knew. It is natural that the person would strive to "wind up" as many of these hectares as possible in order to obtain more

money, without thinking about whether or not the work done by him is necessary. A paradoxical situation was created. On the one hand, we are advising production to be made less expensive, while such a type of wages impels people to carry out as many operations as possible on a hectare of land. Labor and fuel outlays are increasing. And, you know, year after year the situation is not getting any better. Sometimes weather conditions bring about various results. At other times certain operations are not at all necessary and may be even detrimental. Let's assume that there is an extremely dry spring, but the technology has been set for a four-time harrowing. And so they harrow this poor land, dissipating even more the fertile stratum. Otherwise, of course, the wages would be lowered! Is this not a paradox? And how can production be made less expensive under such a practice?

[Question] This very practice has impelled scientists and farm specialists to seek out another, more improved system for paying wages, has it not?

[Answer] Of course. For a long time now people have been thinking about what form of wages should be introduced so that it would orient the farmer to obtain money for output and not merely for the number of hectares worked.... I would like to draw your attention to the following. Let's take the year 1965 as our reference point. Since that time the mass of production funds in kolkhozes and sovkhoses has more than doubled, there has been an increase in the number of tractors, combines, and various other types of machinery. More fertilizers have been applied to the soil. But the crop yield, the fertility of the land has increased too slowly. What were these machines intended for? To cut down the expenditures of living labor. In many countries comprehensive mechanization in agriculture has led to a situation whereby the number of persons employed in cultivating the land and raising livestock is continually being reduced. And significantly so. In our country since 1965 the annual loss of persons employed in labor on the land and on farmsteads has amounted to less than one percent.

[Question] It could be considered that this is a natural, normal loss. But here at the same time there is always talk about the shortage of working hands in the village. People are sent from the city to harvest potatoes, sugar beets, cotton, grapes, and various types of vegetables.

[Answer] Precisely so. It is not only a matter of harvesting potatoes anymore nor even of plowing the land because there is no one to do this in certain oblasts. In spring certain plants form sponsored brigades, which are sent out into the rural areas, and which work there almost all year round, receiving wages at their enterprise and also on the farm. It is not difficult to understand what all this is costing the state.

[Question] Do you have in mind the Non-Chernozem regions?

[Answer] Not only those. This kind of thing is being practiced widely in the Volga region, particularly in Saratov and Volgograd Oblasts, where large areas of land are engaged in growing grain. And everyone is concerned with the question of how to retain young people, how to keep them engaged in

agricultural work. Essentially, this is the foundation of our entire concept in the area of labor resources in the village. But must we really keep people there? Let's think about this for a while. Our country now has nine consumers for every one producer of agricultural output. Of course, this is really not too many. We have invested enormous funds in agriculture, but the number of "eaters" per agricultural worker has still not increased. Neither the funds which have been invested nor the amount of machinery will yield the necessary results, if human interests are not operating here. But how can we create such an economic situation whereby people would be motivated to increase the results of their own labor? And in order that the increase in labor productivity would be the only, non-alternative source for the growth of a person's own income. We need a new wage system. As I have already said, these searchings have been going on for a long time. The collective contract is not something which was thought up today or yesterday. It has its own lengthy history, moreover, a truly difficult and, at times, a dramatic one. It is a history of searchings, trials, and errors, and even sometimes of human tragedies. I know persons who have devoted their lives to developing, introducing, and demonstrating the feasibility and economical nature of the non-job-authorization system.

[Question] It would be interesting to hear you talk about the early experiments....

[Answer] I remember how the first few experiments were set up in the Urals at the beginning of the 1960's. A few young staff workers of the Urals University went out to Irbit. Their work was supported by the then first secretary of the Irbit Party Raykom, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kanygin. The planned intention of the young scientists was to create somewhat smaller labor groups within the large brigades which were predominant on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, to furnish them with the necessary equipment which would allow them to carry out the entire amount of work on the sectors assigned to them. The land was secured for them for a lengthy period of time so that the people would feel themselves to be its masters. And the wages were established not on the basis of volume of operations but rather based on the amount of output grown. Soon such links, which were then designated as consolidated, mechanized links, also began to appear in the other rayons of Sverdlovsk Oblast. Then the first, already comparatively mass experience was summed up, and books were published. Parallel with the Urals, the link system was likewise disseminated in other regions of the country. I know of such links in the Altay region. The Kuban' rang with the names of Vladimir Pervitskiy, Vladimir Svetlichnyy, and Anna Cherepovaya, and in the Moscow region--that of Valentin Papkov, who adopted similar wage systems. In 1966 the All-Russian Scientific-Research Institute of Economics, Labor, and Administration in Agriculture, which is located in Kosina, not far from Moscow, began experiments on organizing such links with a group form of wages on the Trud Sovkhoz, Mikhaylovskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast. Such links were also created on other farms of this oblast. And here we must not fail to mention the name of Viktor Petrovich Borodin, who was chairman of the Volgograd Oblispolkom at that time. How much effort and enthusiasm he put into this new cause! So much so that among the Volgograd people there were even cases where

a link consisting of four machine operators were handling as many as 1500 hectares. At that time such a load seemed fantastic, but, nevertheless, the work went well, and these links harvested excellent crops. Of course, their labor productivity and wages were higher than they were in other sub-divisions. An interest in end results had begun to appear--that's the main thing. Subsequently, the collective contract system was introduced on farms of the Nikolayevsk and Rostov Oblasts, and they were able to accomplish much that was interesting and useful.

[Question] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, what was the economic and social intent of this experiment, which, having passed through a complex path of development, is now gathering new force and going into, if I may so express it, a new, qualitatively new orbit?

[Answer] I remember an article published in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA at the beginning of the 1960's. It was entitled "Does the Village Need the Peasant?". It provoked a great deal of discussion in the most diverse circles.

[Question] By the way, its author was Vladimir Kokashinskiy, who subsequently worked for many years on LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, where he also wrote on this topic.

[Answer] Readers had various attitudes towards this article. To some the question: does the village need the peasant?--seemed rhetorical, while to others it seemed almost demagogic. Let's think for a while about who such a peasant really is. He is a laborer on the land, who selflessly works on it. The land is the means of his labor, giving life to him as well as to all of us. He always had a loving attitude toward it. In our agriculture an enormous turnabout has occurred in agrarian relations. Labor became collective. Machinery unseen before arrived. Comprehensive agro-industrial complexes and associations are now being created. We rejoice at what has been gained, but we must not ignore what has been lost. The main thing which is alarming is the change in attitude toward the land among a portion of the villagers. A type of worker has appeared who is not interested in what will be grown on the land which he is plowing back and forth on his tractor. Because, of course, he receives wages based on the individual amount of work which he does rather than for what is obtained as a result of his work. The present-day village needs a peasant, a contemporary peasant, equipped with technology but to whom the fate of his land would be dear. Thus, the old dispute now seems extremely timely. And it is very important that every rural person feel an interested concern in what is taking place on his field.

[Question] At the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU CC it was noted that we must expand the sphere of the independence of kolkhozes and sovkhozes. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has written a great deal about the problem of independence. But, of course, it is no less important--and, by the way, here one thing overlaps the other--to make it possible for independence to appear for every brigade-leader, link-leader, every farmer and livestock raiser to always feel themselves to be masters of the land, section, or farmstead. The collective contract system stimulates this.

[Answer] Yes, and this problem is being solved by the introduction of cost-accounting in the links and brigades. Indeed, this is an enormous task. Labor on a kolkhoz or sovkhoz is collective in its efforts, whereas individual wages facilitate the isolation of people from each other. The non-job-authorization system emphasizes the integrated goals of the entire group. It is impossible to introduce it in a large brigade. And therefore there arose the idea of small, compact groups. But here there is an indispensable condition--the sections of land must be secured for them for a lengthy time period in order that people consider themselves as their owners, as the object of constant labor. Each member of a link during the course of a year receives a temporary advance which is equal in size. And the final wage payment is determined in accordance with the final results, when the harvest has been gathered and credited.

[Question] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, I would like to return once more to those first few non-job-authorization links about which you were speaking. How did they turn out? What did they achieve, and where did they fail? Such an analysis is important now when we are returning to them again. As is known, not only positive experience but also negative experience is useful, to be more exact, the lessons drawn from it. We know that, in general, the triumphant procession of the collective contract system has still not taken place in agriculture, despite the successes of many groups....

[Answer] By the beginning of the 1970's as many as 20,000 such links were operating in the Russian Federation. Then many fell apart. Wherein lay the reasons for this difficulty? There are many of them. In agriculture weather factors play a large role. Sometimes there are very dry, poor-crop years in certain regions. At times it happens that the link has worked well, the end result is totaled up, and it turns out that the machine operators have received too little. Of course, there is always an economic risk. Those who have worked in the old way, despite a poor harvest, still come out ahead. Here is something which obviously undermines the non-job-authorization wage system. And there is more. In order for a link to obtain a good end result, it must be ensured of delivery of equipment, fertilizers, and it must provide people with the opportunity to work independently on the land. In general, it is difficult for farm managers to handle such links. You don't just take a tractor from them and lay it up for repairs when it breaks down. Take into account in such a case that the leading link--the brigade leaders, section chiefs, and specialists are being paid without any connection with the harvest received. A contradiction arises in the economic stimuli being used on different levels.

[Question] And so it turns out that the farm managers were really not so interested in the precise work of the non-job-authorization links?

[Answer] Yes, in general they really were not very much interested in this. And that hindered the spread of the progressive system. And, finally, there was also that very conservatism, force of habit, and inertia. This too should not be left out of consideration. Nevertheless, over the period of twenty years the organizational principles of forming such links have been worked out.

This was mentioned at the All-Union conference at Belgorod by member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU CC, M. S. Gorbachev. All these principles are based on high-quality scientific experiments under production conditions.

[Question] It may be said that a new era is now beginning in the life of the non-job-authorization links. They already exist under more favorable economic and moral conditions, when there is more and more talk of introducing cost accounting into kolkhozes and sovkhozes, as well as orienting the entire agro-industrial complex in the direction of end results.

[Answer] Conditions, of course, are changing for the better. But I would like to emphasize that the organization of such links is an extremely complicated matter. A kolkhoz member or a worker on a sovkhoz has already become used to working under constant administrative-technical controls. But here the only controller is a good harvest. If there are results, there will also be good earnings. That means quality and again quality. We must carry out an enormous amount of work with regard to the psychological re-structuring of people. Far from all machine operators will be able to work in a modest-sized group in a tightly knit and friendly manner. The group should be recruited on a voluntary basis. There must be a personal selection of each member of the link. Don't forget that, along with the non-job-authorization links, there are also the usual links on a farm. And so there exists an alternative, a freedom of choice for the machine operators as to what kind of link they prefer. If we wish to disseminate the collective contract system, then we must create such conditions under which all links would work under the same conditions, when their labor would be paid according to a single criterion--the end result. The tendency to reduce the labor force in agriculture is an objective one. The outflow of rural youth into the cities can be slowed down, or levelled out, but can no longer be prevented. And so, this wage system must play its own role in the gathering of stable, good harvests with modest-sized outlays of living labor. There is more. According to these conditions the group has the right to determine for itself the number of members of its own link. Let's assume that it is allocated 1500 hectares, a production structure is determined, and calculations are made as to how many persons should work on this land, and a wage fund has been computed. Let's say that it has been determined that this section will be worked by eight machine operators. But people themselves are not such bad economists when it is a matter of their own wages. They can arrive at the conclusion that eight persons are not needed but rather six. In this case how is the manager to proceed? Will he decrease the payment for the work which has already been adjusted, or will he retain that amount which was previously determined? As a rule, kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors will not resist the temptation of reducing the wage fund and thereby placing their people in disadvantageous conditions. I consider that this inflicts a great deal of damage to the cause, leads to instability of the links, and discredits the idea itself. On the contrary, we should welcome it when a link reduces the number of people and frees up working hands which are in short supply.

[Question] How are the RAPO's [rayon agro-industrial associations], which are now being created everywhere, influencing the introduction of the collective contract system?

[Answer] The actively functioning RAPO's, let's say, in Estonia, with whose work I am well acquainted, of course, facilitate the introduction of cost accounting and the creation of links operating without job-authorizations. They apply less administrative pressure than is done by the rayon agricultural administrations, and they place greater stress on the use of economic levers. Genuine cost accounting presumes an influence on the economic interests, but this is achieved solely on the basis of economic independence, which stimulates an enterprising spirit and thriftiness in people. The influence on a person's will and consciousness remains, but it ought to be an auxiliary means. By the way, speaking about RAPO. It is possible, of course, to simply change an old signboard to a new one, but by tradition to continue using the previous methods of economic management. I think that the system of agro-industrial associations will pass through a complicated path of development before it becomes perfected. In short, the non-job-authorization links will take root in places where RAPO creates economic conditions for them and grants them independence.

[Question] Tell us, please, what prospects does the collective-contract system have in the area of livestock raising?

[Answer] Very great ones. This system of wages is simply universal. If administrative obstacles are not put in its way or labels hung around its neck, but instead the links are attentively followed up and aided, then excellent results could be attained. As regards fattening up pigs and cattle, there are no problems at all with respect to the collective-contract system. The very process of working to fatten up animals is a collective one. Especially on a large complex. A modest-sized collective group concludes an agreement with its own farm to obtain a specified amount of meat and receives a wage fund "for meat." The group itself decides what methods to use in order to achieve high additional weights and thereby attain a good end result. Utilizing this wage system on dairy complexes has seemed to us somewhat more complicated. Of great importance there is the factor of the individual assignment of a group of cows to a particular milkmaid. Even here, however, the introduction of the non-job-authorization system is not excluded. There has been some experience in this field as well....

There is a great deal of work lying ahead of us. In disseminating the collective-contract system we must not allow excessive haste, stereotyped patterns, or formalism to occur. Only a sober and creative approach can provide the necessary effect.

2384

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NATIONAL

STAVROPOL KRAY PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS SEMINAR ON PARTY LEADERSHIP ROLE

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 1 Mar 83) pp 150-151

/Article by R. F. Puzyrev, Ivanovo: "Increase in the Leadership Role of the CPSU in the Political System of a Developed Socialism"7

/Text/ A republic-level seminar on this topic was held in Pyatigorsk on 26 through 27 November 1982. The seminar was organized by the Stavropol Kray Party Committee, the Stavropol Problems Council of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Stavropol Pedagogical Institute, and the Pyatigorsk Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages.

The seminar was opened by the chairman of the Problems Council, faculty chairman for journalism of the Academy of Public Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee and Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor B.M. Morozov, who summed up some of the results of the council's work. The council is coordinating and guiding the scientific search for a large number of teachers for the institutions of higher learning and the academic institutes. Morozov focused the attention of those in attendance at the seminar upon the immediate tasks of the scientific exposition of the problem in the light of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The next speaker was the Secretary of the Stavropol Kray Party Committee, A. A. Korobeynikov, who told the participants about the tremendous successes of Stavropol workers; he pointed out that these successes were largely the result of the leadership of the Kray Party Committee, the city and rayon party committees, as well as the primary party organizations and the mass organizations including the associations. The Stavropol Kray Party organization has been diligently improving the forms and methods of managing the councils, trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations in order to increase their activity in all spheres of the building of Communism. Within the kray a great deal of experience has been accumulated in working with the party groups within the

councils. A practice has evolved whereby the chairman of a Party group of the council is approved by the office of the appropriate Party committee. In sessions of the Party groups reports from communists concerning the fulfillment of their deputy responsibilities are regularly presented. Following the regular selection of the council organs seminars and meetings involving the leaders of the Party groups in the councils are held. The Party committees closely monitor the work of the trade unions, which unite more than 1,200,000 men. Questions regarding the work of the trade unions and Party leadership of the unions over the past two to three years were reviewed at plenums of the Kislovodsk, Georgiyevskiy city Party committees and the Novoselitskiy, Shpakovskiy and Predgornyy rayon Party committees. The leadership of the trade unions and Komsomol was significantly activated by the primary Party organizations in the course of fulfilling the decree of the Plenum of the Kray Party Committee, which examined ways to strengthen socialist labor discipline.

Professor B.M. Morozov presented a report entitled "the 26th Party Congress concerning an increase in the role of the Party within the system of state and public organizations" at the plenary session. He disclosed the deeply scientific and creative nature of Party leadership of the state and public organizations and also the flexibility and democratism of its forms and methods.

Professor Morozov shed light on the fundamental aspects of Party leadership: the development of a scientifically sound policy; the selection, placement and education of the personnel assigned to state and public organizations; monitoring the execution by them of Party directives; restricting the functions of the Party, state and mass organizations of workers; providing a leading role for communists; studying, summarizing and distributing the positive experience of their work. Morozov pointed out the close cooperation between all elements of Party leadership.

B.M. Morozov further pointed out that their relations with the mass organizations of workers are built by the Party upon the basis of mutual understanding and common trust. The Party consistently and purposefully implements the Leninist principles of interrelationships with the mass organizations which have been tested over a period of many years; on the one hand the Party is opposed to "non-intervention" in their work and on the other hand decisively rejecting the methods of administering.

Junior Scientific Worker of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. Ye. Zharinkov spoke of the leadership role of the Party in the successful solution of the nationality question in the USSR in his report entitled "the 26th Party Congress and the development of relations between nationalities in the USSR." The report demonstrated that only the Party, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, is able to provide the monolithic unity and life-giving friendship between nations, peoples, and national and ethnic groups.

Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor S. P. Lyushin (Moscow) in his report, which was entitled "the strength of public organizations is found in Party leadership", analyzed the practice of Party leadership over the numerous volunteer societies and associations. Under a developed socialism, he noted, more and more new forms of social activism within various groups and layers of the population are coming into being. At present in the Soviet Union there are about 100 all-union and 200 republic-level and approximately 800 local volunteer societies now active. Lyushin focused attention on the need for the increase in numbers to be accompanied by a strengthening of Party leadership over these organizations so that the expansion of the sphere of activity of the mass associations is adequate to the strengthening of the effective Party influence within these organizations.

Candidate for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, Ye. N. Koskin (Moscow), gave a presentation entitled "the role of the mass organizations in realizing the food program of the USSR." In summarizing the practice of fulfilling the decisions of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in the example of the Ivanovo Oblast Party Committee, Koskin commented on the growing role in this matter of public organizations, which is determined by the extent of Party leadership. Due to the efforts of the oblast Party organization, for example, the pace of construction of livestock facilities was increased two to three-fold as compared with the planned pace. The trade unions, Komsomol and students of this working kray are making an enormous contribution to the implementation of the food program.

Docents A. V. Losik, K.A. Kuznetsov and V.Ye. Yustuzov (Leningrad) told of the basic directions and role of Party leadership over the activity of the trade unions in the sphere of the social development of society. An interesting and factual body of material regarding the forms of the Komsomol's work in the military and patriotic education of young workers was presented by candidate for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, Docent V.G. Vnutskikh and aspirant T.N. Fedotov (Perm).

The speech of Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Ye. N. Petrunin (Moscow) was devoted to the international activity of Soviet trade unions. Petrunin shed light on the contents and methods of Party leadership over these activities; he also discussed the forms of cooperation between the mass organizations of various nations. The speaker reached the conclusion that in coordinating the efforts of public organizations, the Communist Party is having success in that the masses are making inroads into the active struggle to preserve peace and to establishing cooperation and friendly contacts between the peoples of different countries.

Candidate for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, Docent M.I. Pesikov (Orel), unmasked the attempts of the bourgeois falsifiers to distort the essence of the interrelationships of the Communist Party and the mass public organizations of workers. The presentation of candidate for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, Docent V.N. Tomshich (Izhevsk), was devoted to the historiography of the problem of Party leadership over the state and public organizations.

There were three sections working at the seminar. Doctors of historical sciences, acting professor Ye.I. Fedorinov (Voronezh), Professor A. G. Yegorov and Ya. P. Tarasenko (both from Moscow) gave speeches in all three sections. Altogether nearly 40 reports and communications were heard.

In his speech at the November (1982) Party Plenum General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov put forward as the most important task of the Party committees, councils, trade union and Komsomol organs to increase the activity of the working masses.* The republic-level seminar of Party history teachers, which discussed questions regarding the theory, history, methodology and historiography of the Party leadership of state and public organizations in a society of mature socialism, will promote the contribution of social scientists to the solution of this task.

* See "Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 22 November 1982", Moscow, 1982, page 22.

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8927

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NATIONAL

SOCIAL PLANNING CONFERENCE HELD IN TALLINN

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Apr 83 p 1

[Report from Estonian News Agency: "Putting Theory Into Practice"]

[Text] The ninth session of the Problem Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the CEMA Member Nations began its work in Tallinn on 5 April, on the topic: "The Evolution of the Social Structure of a Socialist Society: Social Planning and Forecasting."

Vice President of the EsSSR Academy of Sciences, Academician of the EsSSR Academy of Sciences A. Keyerna opened the session. "Thorough study of the processes connected with the changes in a society's social structure," said he, "is necessary for the development of both the theoretical problems of socialism and for the practical work of socialist construction as well. Our country is now at the beginning of a law-governed and historically-protracted stage in the formation of the communist structure—the period of developed socialism. The basic theme of the activity of the party and the people in modern conditions, as was stressed in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, 'On the 80th Anniversary of the Second RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (of Bolsheviks)] Congress,' is the perfection of developed socialism, by virtue of which the gradual transition to communism will take place."

Propounding specific tasks in the realm of social planning, or working out the appropriate socio-economic policy presupposes detailed study of the situation in each of the countries of the socialist commonwealth; and the accumulation and collective generalization of experience in controlling the socio-economic processes. A wealth of initial data for such generalization is provided by international comparative research, which was conducted by sociologists in the fraternal socialist countries. "For this, today as never before," stressed A. Keyerna, "It is important to creatively evaluate the great teachings of Marx, as communists in all nations and all of progressive humanity are observing the 165th anniversary of his birth and the 100th anniversary of his death; and to be able to utilize his teachings for the analysis of specific social phenomena. In their ideological and mass political work, sociologists are concentrating their efforts on propagandizing the ideals of scientific socialism, Marxist-Leninist teachings on the party, and the worldwide historical experience of the CPSU."

The report was delivered by the Commission Chairman, Director of the Institute of Sociology and Philosophy of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Professor Casimir Doktor. Participants at the session, among whom were representatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Hungarian People's Republic, German Democratic Republic, Mongolian People's Republic, Polish People's Republic, Socialist Republic of Romania, the USSR and the CSSR, exchanged information, discussed the prospects for collaboration, and outlined the plan of action for 1984-1985.

On the same day, CPEs Central Committee Secretary R. Ristlaan received the leadears of the delegations and participants at the session.

9006

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NATIONAL

CONTENT, TASKS OF SOVIET COUNTERPROPAGANDA SET FORTH

Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 28 Feb 83)
pp 49-56

[Article by Ye. A. Nozhin: "A Front Without a Truce"]

[Text] During the period of developed socialism, the ideological maturity of the Soviet people and their solidarity with the CPSU are an important factor for social progress and for the successful implementation of the communist construction plans.

With legitimate pride in noting the successes in the formation of the new man achieved in our nation over the years of Soviet power and in the process of building socialism and communism, the party has formulated as an urgent command of the times the task of further improving ideological work and significantly increasing its effectiveness and quality.

Under present-day conditions, when the aggressiveness of imperialism, primarily American, has increased, there is a particular sense of urgency for a profound and aggressive ideological struggle against our class enemies and an active unmasking of the ideological subversion of imperialism.

Historical experience shows that the attempts to refute the teachings of scientific communism, to oppose it with the ideas of the bourgeois order of the world, to "improve" it, if not destroy it, have been undertaken literally since the birth of Marxism.

In the dialectical unity and interaction of the three forms of class struggle (political, ideological and economic), the ideological struggle holds a specific place, in ensuring the goals of the political struggle both during the period of its rise and during the periods of decline. "...The form of struggle," wrote V. I. Lenin, "can change and does change constantly depending upon the different, comparatively frequent and temporary factors, but the essence of the struggle and its class content cannot directly change as long as classes exist" (PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 372). For this reason the need arises of disclosing and unmasking "the most widespread ideological-political currents of the given time or those which are most harmful for democracy and for socialism" (ibid., Vol 20, p 357).

At present, our ideological opponent is armed with numerous concepts of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, opportunism and revisionism. With all their diversity they are all united by the main goal set: to attempt to harm the ideology of scientific communism, to discredit socialism in the eyes of the world public opinion and to destabilize and deform the spiritual sphere of a socialist society.

The outcome of the clash between the two ideologies is predetermined: bourgeois ideology, as distorted awareness and as the reflection of the interests of class in retreat is doomed and it feverishly is endeavoring to check social progress. On our side is the truth of science, the truth of history and the ideals of social justice. Socialist ideology correctly discloses the patterns of social development and serves as a powerful weapon in the revolutionary transformation of the world.

But this circumstance provides no grounds whatsoever for complacency. Of course, socialist reality in and of itself has a powerful impact on the spiritual world of man. However, equally indisputable is that in losing one position after another and in losing the battle for the minds and hearts of people, imperialism has strengthened its resistance and put all its reserves to work. For this reason, passivity, nonintervention and oversights in counterpropaganda activities lead to a situation where the opponent does have a certain impact on some, even small portion of the Soviet people. The successes of ideological and political indoctrination and in the formation and development of a rich spiritual world for Soviet man are at present directly dependent upon the effectiveness of checking our ideological opponent. Consequently, counterpropaganda, as an indispensable part of the system of ideological work by the CPSU and aimed at countering bourgeois ideology and propaganda, at present is becoming a concern of the entire party, each party organization and each communist.

The successes of the ideological struggle depend primarily upon the soundness of that ideological basis on which it is conducted. Soviet social scientists have done a good deal to create such a basis. A critical analysis of bourgeois sociopolitical theories and the unmasking of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism of all hues continue to hold an important place in the arsenal of existing means.

At the same time, science remains greatly in debt to propaganda. At times the criticism of bourgeois ideology has a fragmentary nature. In addition, our scholars at times are in no rush to promptly assess those turns which occur in bourgeois policy, ideology and propaganda and frequently aim their fire at "yesterday's targets." The overcoming of this shortcoming is an urgent task.

The antiscientific and unsound nature of the bourgeois theories, concepts and theses which bring about the various turns in imperialist domestic and foreign policy is clearly apparent in their instability and continuous "rotation." "Deideologization" has been replaced by "reideologization" while "convergence" has been replaced by "neoconservatism." The rather numerous theories of neoconservatism which are becoming evermore widespread in the West in their essence are an avowed apology for capitalism and a new proclamation of its "immutability." Precisely the theories of neoconservatism have served as the ideological basis for the U.S. President R. Reagan to proclaim another "crusade" against communism and to promise the "leaving of Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history," and so forth.

While the first particular feature of the present-day ideological struggle, as was defined by the 26th CPSU Congress, has been a sharp exacerbation of it throughout the world, the second feature consists in the going over of imperialism along the entire front to psychological warfare against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is important to see the essential qualitative differences between the struggle of ideas and psychological warfare.

Psychological warfare is an aggregate of ideological subversion and a system for the political-emotional pressuring of the USSR and the other countries in the socialist commonwealth and for the massed influencing of human awareness by the means of manipulative misinforming propaganda. The aim of these actions is to have a destructive effect both on the ideological as well as all the other spheres of spiritual life in a socialist society. In psychological warfare, more and more in the forefront is the task of a direct impact on the population of the socialist nations in order to undermine their confidence in the rightness of the ideas and deeds of communism and even, if this is possible, to create some form of antisocialist opposition. In other words, psychological warfare at present is an inseparable part of the aggressive U.S. military-political plans designed to undermine the moral-political unity of the population of the USSR and the other socialist countries and to deceive world public opinion with the myth about the "Soviet military threat."

At present, literally everything is taken up as weapons of psychological warfare from the newest technical devices to hostile rumors and anecdotes. Radio propaganda is being carried out particularly intensely and this has become a true radio war against the socialist countries. The power of the subversive radio stations is constantly growing and new stations are being built. Television is becoming evermore active in the sphere of psychological warfare including for influencing the population of certain regions of the Soviet Union. For this purpose, work is being accelerated on the use of direct television (direct television broadcasting via satellites to home television sets).

The basic position of our party on this question is clear: we have conducted and will conduct well reasoned polemics against those in the West who, although professing views which are alien to us, but do not employ the methods of psychological warfare. At the same time, we are categorically against the use in the ideological duel of a system of deceit and falsification so characteristic for modern bourgeois propaganda. As was emphasized by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, at the November (1982) Plenum of the Central Committee, "the CPSU is against turning the dispute of ideas into a confrontation between states and peoples." Instead of an honest dialogue, the enemy is continuing to increase its psychological attacks, it is conducting them more rapaciously and is announcing a new "crusade" against socialism. Considering this, how should the political indoctrination of the workers be carried out and how can effective counterpropaganda be organized?

First of all, let us point out that under such conditions counterpropaganda assumed a complex and multifaceted nature. In it the ability to conduct well-reasoned polemics is combined with a readiness to deal a firm rebuff to shameless anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and to thwart any ideological subversion by the class enemy. The system of political indoctrination for the Soviet people includes primarily their broad ideological preparation as the main condition

for developing an ideological immunity and for creating a secure barrier to hostile ideological influences. Here it is particularly important that theoretical knowledge be turned into firm convictions and become a motive in the labor and political activeness of the Soviet people. "The purpose of our theoretical views is to be guided by them in our revolutionary activities," said V. I. Lenin. "The best place for testing out our theoretical views is the field of militant activity. A true testing for the communist is his understanding of where and when his Marxism should be turned into action" ("Leninskiy sbornik" [Leninist Collection], Vol XXXVII, p 249).

At the same time, a responsible task for counterpropaganda is to develop a stable negative public opinion among the Soviet people and class implacability for bourgeois propaganda on the basis of a well developed feeling of Soviet patriotism and pride for their motherland as well as a profound awareness by each Soviet person of the provocative and hostile nature of imperialism's psychological warfare and its deceptive methods and stratagems. Being a weapon of the class enemy, these methods and stratagems are designed, for naive, uninformed persons. In the system of counterpropaganda, demonstrating the advantages of the socialist way of life should be combined with convincing criticism of the relationship of these two tasks, as an important methodological principle, dictated by the circumstance that in the process of psychological warfare the enemy will endeavor to defame the achievements of socialism and in every possible way extol the way of life in the West, in frankly trying to replace socialist values with capitalist ones in the minds of our people.

First of all, it is essential to more widely propagandize the right to labor, the right for education, for free medical service and for housing. These are basic human rights which do not exist in the United States and in the other capitalist states and which are guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. A remarkable means of propagandizing the leading principle of socialism—concern for the working man—and an effective argument in the struggle against the insinuations of the ideological opponent are the facts and figures from the socioeconomic and cultural development of our nation and the absolute growth rates of the national economy which have steadily surpassed the analogous indicators in capitalist nations. Also indisputable are the advantages of the political system of socialism which ensures the active participation of the workers in running the nation. Equally significant are the achievements of the socialist system in using the public consumption funds and in the area of scientific-technical progress, environmental conservation and other spheres of social and spiritual life.

Here it is essential to help see the ongoing stable growth of the standard of living in each family and for each Soviet man. And this has been regardless of all the difficulties and the most severe war imposed on us and regardless of the obstacles caused us by imperialism. At the same time, each worker should know well that the fulfillment of our plans and the Food Program depends upon his labor contribution, his initiative and creative approach to the job.

There are virtually no aspects of real socialism which our ideological opponent has not endeavored to defame. And in whatever guise he may appear—an evil prophet or a sweet-talking well wisher—this is only the next plot to achieve

the main thing: to inject even a drop of poison into the souls of the people and to shake our unity.

For example, today the anticommunists, in playing upon our existing difficulties, both objective and subjective, have asserted that socialism will suffer a defeat due to the "gap" between its theory and practice. And it must be frankly admitted that there are those who, in encountering the shortcomings, out of naivete have "taken" the bait. But Marxist-Leninists know that it is not a question of a "gap between theory and practice," but rather one of a dialectical contradiction between the scientific prediction and the difficulties of realizing it arising also out of the obstacles which imperialism has posed for us. Moreover, in propagandizing the victories of socialism, the party has never considered it essential to embellish our reality. "We talk boldly about the existing problems and the unsolved tasks because," commented Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, "we know firmly that we are up to these problems and tasks, we can and should carry them out." For this reason the party has raised the demand that criticism of our shortcomings should be to the point, balanced and never turned into outright nit-picking which creates a medium for those fond of demagoguery, the cavillers and whiners.

As for the criticism of capitalist reality, we would point out that this must be carried out ably and skillfully. Even in his work "What Is To Be Done" V. I. Lenin urged us to learn to unmask the rottenness of imperialism, considering its complete political exposure to be an essential and basic condition for indoctrinating revolutionary activeness in the masses (see: PSS, Vol 6, p 71). In so doing, one of the important methodological principles of counterpropaganda is to fight imperialism from positions advantageous for us and vulnerable for it.

In the subversive radio broadcasting beamed at the socialist countries, extensive use is made of the so-called "sociological propaganda," that is, supposedly "apolitical" proselytizing of consumerism, bourgeois standards and values, the appealing to own, selfish interests. An effort is made to persuade the masses in various nations that they have been short-changed, deprived and have a right to more. The "universal material well-being" and "unlimited freedom" of the individual in the West are sketched out in rainbow colors. This ideological subversion is aimed primarily at the youth in the minds of whom an attempt is made to identify capitalism with social progress and to instill in the youth selfish interests and base drives.

In comparing the socialist and bourgeois ways of life, we must decisively rebuff the attempts to impose on us a dispute over the consumer or "window dressing" level. The enormous advantages of socialism become particularly apparent if a comparison is made for the entire aggregate of economic, social, legal and moral-ethical standards, if we base ourselves on the well-known Leninist formulation of the main goal of socialism: "...Ensuring complete prosperity and free all-round development of all members of society" (PSS, Vol 6, p 232). Capitalism is unable to either pose or solve such a task, regardless of how it has developed its productive forces.

This is why an important area for indoctrinating the new man and at the same time a dependable means for countering the influence of bourgeois ideology are

an active and purposeful formulating of the range of his interests and the level of his consumption. In their majority, the Soviet people work honestly and earnestly and use the numerous goods rightly and reasonably. But, as was emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress, we also have persons who endeavor to give less and take more from the state. Selfishness and philistinism, acquisitiveness and indifference to the concerns and causes of the people arise precisely on the grounds of such a psychology. Precisely such persons most often become the object of the subversive propaganda and precisely here it finds its desired response. In presently combating such antipodes of socialist morality as theft, speculation and bribery, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that such negative manifestations arise not without the influence of bourgeois ideology. In drawing lessons from Polish events, we can see that under the conditions of neglecting ideological-indoctrinational and counterpropaganda activities, bourgeois propaganda of consumerism and permissiveness can have a deleterious effect not only on ordinary awareness, but also through it on the ideological sphere of man's spiritual world.

In repulsing the ideological subversion of the class enemy, we proceed from the fact that anticommunism at present is not only an antiscientific, false ideology, but also a real political and economic activity, a response to the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, a reflection of the mortal fear of socialism and an attempt to provide an ideological cover for the military-political plans of world imperialism headed by the United States. The essence of these plans is by any means to halt the progress of socialism, to thwart detente, to achieve military supremacy over the USSR, to weaken it by an arms race, to enfeeble it by economic and political sanctions and as a result establish the world dominance of American imperialism. Force has been proclaimed as the sole means for carrying out these crazy ideas, a frantic arms race has been unleashed for these purposes, and the militarization of the domestic and foreign policy of the capitalist countries has been undertaken. This is why the survival of mankind is related to the problem of preserving peace and the destinies of each and every one of us are linked together.

Socialism means peace. War can be prevented by the enormous efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist nations and by carrying out the Peace Program in the 1980's. But in struggling for peace, we refuse to beg for it. "We well know," emphasized Comrade Yu. V. Andropov in a speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee of 12 November 1982, "that you cannot beg for peace from the imperialists. It can be defended only by relying on the invincible might of the Soviet Armed Forces." This is why we must not permit even the slightest hint of pacifism in ideological indoctrination. At present, the readiness to defend the frontiers of the fatherland and the victories of socialism are an inseparable part of Soviet patriotism and a manifestation of the political and spiritual culture of Soviet man.

The "experts" of psychological warfare, as is known, have not let up in their attacks against the greatest victory of socialism, the solution to the nationality question. For the first time in history the multinational make-up of the nation has been turned from a source of its weakness into a source of its strength. The ideological opponent does not want to accept this, in endeavoring to resurrect national prejudices in the USSR, to slander the Leninist principles of resolving the nationality question and to reduce their attractiveness abroad.

The falsifiers and slanderers have constantly asserted that the unity of our ideological positions supposedly encroaches on national uniqueness while the single culture absorbs the uniqueness of the culture of peoples. They also harp on the supposed russification. Under the guise of "safeguarding national traditions" they promulgate obsolete forms of culture and everyday life. Generous support is provided to the nationalistic emigre rabble which at present more and more often is shifting to a policy of frantic anti-Sovietism. Thus, the Baltic nationalists today are siding with the "fighters" for the "independence" of the Ukraine, with the Zionists and so forth.

The ideological subversives are making evermore active attempts to drive a wedge between the socialist countries as well as the communist and workers parties. This is the aim of the so-called "captive nations weeks" held annually in the United States, or the assembly of professional anticommunists and renegades such as the "Conference on the Questions of the Democratizing of the Communist Nations" convened by the U.S. State Department in October 1982. For this reason the work of unmasking the provocations of a nationalistic sort should be combined with a strengthening of the internationalist, patriotic indoctrination of the workers, particularly the youth.

In the course of the ideological subversion, attempts have been made to link nationalistic vestiges with religious ones. The reactionary religious centers, primarily the Catholic, Jewish and Muslim, are in direct contact with the psychological warfare centers. The Catholic Church is the true "apostle of anticommunism" and even at the dawn of the founding of scientific communism, it saw communism's strength and engaged it in a battle which has not ceased at present.

International Zionism to a significant degree has been replaced by militant Judaism, and even the Israeli Zionists have endeavored to justify their frankly fascist crimes in Lebanon by Biblical revelations ("It is said in the writings of Moses: 'To a people without land must be given land without a people.'").

Imperialism has also constantly endeavored to make use of the so-called "Islamic explosion," that is, the strengthening of the social and political role of Islam. Of course, not all the political movements under the flag of Islam can be described as feudal or bourgeois. Communists, revolutionary democrats and other progressive forces in the developing countries are precisely interested in making certain that the political influence of Islam not be monopolized by the reaction.

The numerous emigre religious and political organizations also conduct active anticommunist work in a clerical form. Among them is the so-called "Russian Church Abroad." As one of its last provocations, its leaders in November 1981 canonized the former Tsar Nicholas II and his family.

Overtly subversive bourgeois nationalistic policies under a religious cover are also carried out by the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the nucleus of which is made up of evil enemies of the Ukrainian people such as former followers of Petlyura, supporters of the Nazis, butchers from the Bander bands and so forth.

The lie is constantly spread that people are persecuted for religious beliefs under socialism. Actions have been significantly intensified to fan the desire to emigrate among Soviet citizens not only along national lines (among the Jewish, German and Armenian population), but also for religious reasons. The activities of the legally banned fanatical sects are supported and protection is provided for criminals under the pretext of "victims of their religious convictions." Thus, at present our atheistic work quite often joins with the struggle against clerical anticommunism.

At present, the aesthetic sphere of spiritual life, primarily literature and art, has become an arena of acute ideological struggle. In understanding the enormous ideological-moral, political and aesthetic effect which artistic literature, music, the theater and fine arts have on the Soviet man, the "experts" of psychological warfare are conducting their subversive activities in several areas.

First of all, they are endeavoring to distort and slander the very essence and underlying principles of socialist artistic culture: ideological purity, party loyalty and dedication to the people. Attacks have been made against its leading and tested method, socialist realism, the main task of which is the active affirmation of the Soviet way of life, the standards of communist morality and the beauty and greatness of our moral values. In actuality, it is difficult to overestimate the ideological-moral and political impact of the finest works of Soviet literature which stand in contrast to the so-called "mass" literature of the West which is spiritually empty and instills false stereotypes. However, unfortunately as yet not all our literature, particularly artistic journalism, holds its proper place on the forward edge of the ideological struggle. Here also our film has not always been up to things.

The ideological opponent is endeavoring to have a corrupting influence on the intelligentsia, particularly the creative youth, in every possible way describing the "unlimited freedom of creativity" in the West and bourgeois mass culture and lauding to the skies any manifestations of lack of ideological conviction, ideological flabbiness and a departure from a clear class position. There have been unceasing attempts to bring into our nation the printed products of foreign intelligence and propaganda centers. Each year our border service confiscates tens of thousands of copies of anti-Soviet lampoons, religious propaganda pamphlets, subversive journals from the anti-Soviet emigre organization NTS [National Labor Union] such as POSEV [SOWING], GRANI [FACETS] and others. Here also have been tapes with religious sermons, movie and video films which are often spiced with anti-Sovietism, where pornography is combined with the extolling of the bourgeois way of life. The numerous Western films which reach our screens also sow the harmful seeds of an alien ideology and culture. This circumstance must be considered in indoctrinational work with the youth, particularly children; the Western film products must be truly judged and skillfully offset by the finest works of Soviet film art.

Music also provides a channel for the penetration of the standards of bourgeois mass culture. It is no secret that at times certain young people follow far from the best examples of classical and light music, both Soviet and foreign. Even worse, Soviet ensembles frequently imitate hack, tasteless and vulgar foreign models and in so doing work for the "other side." At present, the pages

of the periodic press have justifiably sounded concern about this. It is essential to realize that Western modern music to a significant degree is the creation of a special background, the preparation to perceive the values of the bourgeois world, that is, "unlimited freedom" and "all permissiveness," and hence this is one of the methods of an offensive against our system of values and ultimately against communist ideology.

Obviously, the main counteragent here is a stronger ideological and aesthetic influence, an attentive choice of the repertoire of discos and amateur artistic activities considering that there is no more honorable task than using every means of art to actively propagandize the great accomplishments of the Soviet people under the leadership of the glorious Leninist party. There is the urgent task of broadening the propagandizing of good music by the well-known methods of D. Kabalevskiy and other experts as well as improve the aesthetic and musical education for children in schools.

There must be a similar approach to indoctrinating tastes and providing a counteraction in the sphere of fine arts when it is a question of the various ultramodernist currents. In a word, at present there is no neutral information, including aesthetic, and any information has a class, ideological nature and can become the object of the ideological struggle.

The party organizations have acquired definite positive experience in the political indoctrination of the workers under the conditions of the intensified ideological struggle. In accord with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee, they viewed counterpropaganda as one of the important spheres for their activity and are endeavoring to carry it out with proper competence, consistently, considering the specific situation and the degree of influence of bourgeois propaganda on the various groups of the population.

For Marxist-Leninists the notion of the inevitability of an ideological struggle between the two class-opposite social systems is axiomatic. As long as socialism and capitalism exist, the struggle of ideas cannot cease and there can be no truce in it. This is the main law of this struggle. Communist propaganda and its most important element—the system of Marxist-Leninist education—by their diverse means instill in the Soviet people not only a permanent immunity against bourgeois propaganda, but also develop in each Soviet citizen an activist position in the clash of ideas. This is the most important guarantee for new victories in the theory and practice of socialism and for successes in the construction of communism.

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PARTY CONFERENCE ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN NONCHERNOZEM ZONE

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[Article by V. A. Mikhaylov: "For Comprehensiveness in Ideological and Political-Educational Work"]

[Text] The objectives of a comprehensive approach to solving the problems of education, to improving the management of ideological processes, of generalizing the experience of party organizations in these areas of their activity were discussed at a scientific-practical conference that took place in Gorky. It was organized by the Department of Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee, the Gorky party obkom and the Gorky VPSH [Higher Order of Lenin Party School of the CPSU Central Committee].

Participating in the work of the conference were the first secretary of the Gorky CPSU oblast committee, Yu. N. Khristoradnov, members and candidate members of the party obkom bureau, secretaries and heads of departments of propaganda and agitation of a number of party committees, scientists, instructors from the Gorky VPSH, students in inter-oblast courses--secretaries of city and rayon party committees involved in ideological work and responsible workers the the CPSU obkoms of Mari, Mordovian, Tatar and Chuvash ASSR's and Vladimir, Gorky, Ivanovo, Kirov and Kostroma oblasts.

P. K. Luchinskiy, deputy director of the Propaganda Division of the CPSU Central Committee spoke at the plenary session on, "Urgent Goals in Ideological Work in the Light of Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress."

He said that party committees are doing significant work to strengthen ties between ideological-political education and life, to increase the practical activity of the working masses; they are taking specific measures to elevate educational work to a higher qualitative level, to improve its organization and to secure the active participation of workers on the ideological front in solving problems brought up by the party. Nevertheless, the restructuring of ideological, political-educational work is being implemented with insufficient speed and organization.

Shortcomings still exist, as for example the demonstration of formalism and philological chatter; by far not always is unity achieved in ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic activity.

The vanguard role of communists greatly affects the strengthening of discipline and organization in labor collectives and the development of creative initiative among workers. Not all party committees have drawn practical conclusions from the decrees of the 26th CPSU Congress concerning the necessity to more energetically, with a knowledge of the subject, to implement party leadership, to strengthen controls and check on implementation, to improve the style and method of work, to improve intra-party information and to increase publicity in party work--an effective means of strengthening party ties with the masses. These shortcomings are characteristic to a greater or lesser degree of many party organizations.

Further the speaker discussed in detail the basic directions of ideological work, and in particular the goals of improving the effectiveness of the ideological-political, labor and moral education of workers. He emphasized the necessity of a differentiated approach to various categories within the population, of improving the forms and methods of atheist propaganda and the international and patriotic education of the Soviet people.

Within the system of party education improvements should be made in the training and retraining of propagandists, which will undoubtedly have an effect on the quality of teaching. More attention should be given to improving the work of methods sections, to orienting them toward more active forms of training propagandists. Party raykoms and gorkoms must constantly control the activity of cabinets of political education and make sure that propagandists with the necessary knowledge and local materials are produced. It would be expedient to develop and strengthen the network of cabinets of a public nature.

The system of economic education is also being reorganized. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee on this question obliges party gorkoms and raykoms to examine economic study as one of the factors for intensifying production, as the development of a careful attitude toward public property in each worker and to demand the same type of attitude toward this study from party, trade union, Komsomol and economic organizations.

The current school year must become the year for the continued improvement in persistence and battle-readiness of party teaching with regard to implementing party policy and to forming an active vital position in communists. Political studies must become the school of communist education by forming high ideological and moral qualities in students.

The speaker noted the successes in mass political work done by party committees, especially in broadly illuminating CPSU policies at the modern stage of communist building and specific goals for labor collectives. Further improvements in mass agitation work will depend greatly on radical improvements in selecting and training agitators and political information workers. In recent years there has been somewhat of an improvement in the qualitative composition of this link of ideological-political workers; a definite system for training and informing them has been created. Nevertheless this work is far from finished. Many party organizations still often produce insufficiently trained agitators and political information workers. It is especially important to recruit for educational work directors of intermediate links, engineering-technical personnel, leading production workers and individuals

who have received honorary titles and orders. In forming agitation collectives and groups of political information workers it is necessary to study each candidate, to consider not only the political, work and moral qualities of people but also the desire of each individual chosen to do this work.

There are great possibilities in using the resources of visual aids for agitation purposes. Any embellishment, lack of direction, a generalized nature should be avoided. There can be fewer artistic panels, slogans and placards, but they must be clear, specific and relevant.

Then P. K. Luchinskiy discussed problems in lecture propaganda. Here, he said, it was especially important to make the themes of lectures more relevant, to improve their quality and accessibility. There should be an increased use of lecture cycles, public political readings and an organization of people's universities. It is essential to improve the training and re-training of lecturers, to regularly conduct seminars with them, to instruct them regarding the most important questions of foreign and domestic CPSU policies, economic building and the activities of party organs.

Clubs, libraries and museums should build their work after considering the changes that have occurred in the everyday life and culture of the Soviet people. There is a growing demand for the means of mass information and propaganda. Recently the CPSU Central Committee passed a resolution entitled, "On the Work of the Newspaper TRUD." It contains recommendations with regard to the basic directions and nature of propaganda, agitation and organizational activities of this newspaper that are mandatory for other press organs, including oblast and rayon newspapers. The local press should more thoroughly analyze the interrelationship between economic activity and ideological-education work. Help should be given to the editors of oblast and rayon newspapers to enable them to master a more comprehensive approach to illuminating the life of party organizations.

Propaganda on achieving real socialism must become one of the central themes of oral and written propaganda. We must utilize examples more broadly, including the fates of real people. While revealing the greatness of communist ideals, the all-victorious strength of Marxism-Leninism, the multifaceted activities of the CPSU in strengthening the power of our homeland, in improving the well-being of the Soviet people it is necessary to more extensively propagandize the genuine democracy and humanism of the socialist society and the Soviet way of life. An important place in propaganda must be occupied by new demonstrations of the crises of capitalism and the aggressiveness of the foreign-policy course of the American administration.

The growth in the effectiveness and quality of ideological work depends primarily on the leadership and organizational role of party committees. Also of decisive significance are improvements in the style and methods of work, the eradication of formalism and conventionalism in educating workers, the rejection of all that is antiquated and ossified and an active search for the new.

The key link in ideological work is the selection and distribution of cadres. It is essential to require from ideological workers a creative attitude toward their work, initiative, passion and irreconcilability to indifference. Only these qualities give them the moral right to educate, to lead the masses.

There should be a steadfast improvement in ongoing and future planning in ideological work. At its basis there must be not intuition, not subjective impressions but serious analytical work, an evaluation of the tendencies and laws of public life and the educational process in a specific region or labor collective. Only then will the plan be realized. The programming-objectives principle is important in planning. Without it the plan is transformed into a mechanical selection of uncoordinated measures not tied together by an internal logic. It is essential to closely relate plans for ideological work with plans of economic and social development, to consider all of the facets of real life as well as the role of soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations in the communist education of workers. At the same time plans should not be too detailed. In the village ideological work should be planned in such a way as to encompass all links of the agro-industrial complex, to direct them toward solving a common problem--the fulfillment of the USSR Foodstuffs Program.

An important role in the party management of ideological work is played by the coordination of efforts of party and state organs, public organizations and all education means. An effective form of such coordination are the ideological commissions that have been created within all party committees and large party organizations. Their 3-year work experience should be studied and generalized, their authority and effectiveness should be increased even more and an effort should be made to have them thoroughly analyse ideological processes, develop methodological recommendations on various questions of communist education, control the fulfillment of party decisions and disseminate the best experience. Nevertheless, we must be careful that the commissions not duplicate the work of divisions of party committees, not make their own decisions, not waste time on numerous meetings, and so forth.

The strengthening of ties between the party and masses, continued the speaker, is encouraged to a significant degree by the same political days, the efficacy of which has already been demonstrated, as well as by meetings of management workers with workers. These measures must be carefully prepared and speakers must be supplied with the necessary materials--figures, facts and so forth.

At the present time the front of scientific research is expanding in the area of theory and methods of education. Party committees utilize the recommendations and conclusions of various scientific-practical conferences and individual scientists on questions of ideological work. Organizational-methodological centers and councils for generalizing the best experiences render great aid to party organizations in the matter of a scientific approach to education.

Remaining complicated, as before, is the question of evaluating ideological work. Qualitative indicators continue to be used most--so many lectures have been given, so many discussions have been held. It is evidently impossible to turn away from such indicators. Nevertheless, the main consideration should be the qualitative aspect; the results of education work should be judged not by the number of measures implemented but by the degree of political consciousness, morality and social activeness of the masses.

In ideological work as nowhere else bureaucratism and formalism are intolerable. These are the antipodes of the essence of party work. Their sources include weak ties with life and with management work and a striving to avoid acute problems. There should be a decisive struggle against these phenomena, foreign to the Leninist work style.

After this the work of the conference was continued in six sections. The speakers emphasized that in recent years there has been a significant development of theoretical and applied questions related to a systemic approach to managing ideological processes.

V. V. Pavlov, rector of the Gorky VPSH and candidate of philosophical sciences, noted the extensiveness of future and current planning in educational work. Sociological research, public opinion are regularly examined and the competency of ideological cadres is increasing. However, the essence of a comprehensive, systematic approach to the organization of education overall still has not been assimilated everywhere. Sometimes comprehensiveness is replaced by the composition of combined plans that in one document contain measures, forms and methods and the efforts of various organs and organizations involved in this work. After examining the philosophical aspect of the problem, the relationship of the objective and subjective prerequisites for a comprehensive or systemic approach to ideological-education work the author emphasized the importance of recruiting people into an active labor and social-political life, into the administrative process at all levels. He noted the necessity of reflecting theory and practice in a special section of the plan, "The Unity of Organizational and Ideological-Education Work." After examining propaganda and agitation work at the levels of the city--rayon--labor collective as an integral factor within a broader system of managing administrative and social-cultural building, V. V. Pavlov spoke in support of the programmed-objectives approach in comprehensive planning and of a single plan worked out by party committees with the participation of all organs and organizations.

V. P. Kiselev, doctor of philosophical sciences and professor, in characterizing the educational effects of organizational and administrative work, touched on new forms of recruiting administrators into education such as meetings of the administrative-economic leadership, reports by directors of enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, city and rayon administrations and services to party bureaus, their personal participation in educating workers and the elaboration of individual educational plans by senior specialists and middle-link managers, the fulfillment of which would be controlled by party committees and bureaus, and so forth. It is the goal

of party organizations to achieve the elaboration of a style and method of management that coordinates economic expediency with social and educational expediency, that will become a means for constantly improving man.

L. F. Fedorova, secretary of the Kineshem CPSU raykom, Ivanovo Oblast, shared her experience of improving the management of ideological work.

I. S. Donskaya, secretary of the Sovetskiy party raykom of the city of Kazan', related her experience in planning ideological and political-educational work.

The reports of A. N. Sidorov and Ye. A. Kosterin, instructors in the departments of propaganda and agitation of the Mari and Mordovian party obkoms, and a number of other reports analyzed the activities of ideological commissions of party committees, which are important links in coordinating, generalizing and disseminating the positive experience of political-educational work. As a rule, commissions consist of 4-5 sections according to directions or means of communist education.

For example, at the Orskiy party gorkom, active forms securing the unity of political-educational, organizational and management activities include meetings with administrative management, universities for advisors and directors' councils to discuss, with the participation of a large aktiv, questions related to creating a healthy moral-psychological climate in labor collectives and to strengthening labor discipline and communist education on the whole.

The forms and methods of introducing scientific foundations into managing educational processes have become more varied. Obkoms, many gorkoms and raykoms and large party committees have created councils for studying public opinion, special groups or sociological laboratories to deal with problems of education; scientific-practical conferences are conducted regularly. Sociological laboratories and groups prepare analytic materials and social forecasts for party committees on the problems of economic, social, cultural development and help to shape public opinion on various questions.

Many party organizations have accumulated interesting experience with regard to coordinating and managing ideological processes on the brigade and link level. This was discussed by Yu. M. Pylayev, the second secretary of the Gorky Avtozavodskiy CPSU raykom, and S. V. Muryksina, secretary of the Nerekhtskiy CPSU gorkom of Kostroma Oblast.

It was noted at the conference that in the oblasts of the Nonchernozem Region with their existing demographic situation special significance is acquired by the education of the young, differentiated work with various categories of the population and securing a unity of economic and socio-cultural development. In many rayons of this region there is a clear system of labor education beginning in the pre-school and adolescent age; purposeful work is conducted to orient youth professionally, and to create a base of labor study.

At the same time conference participants noted existing shortcomings and violations in implementing a comprehensive approach to ideological-educational work. In particular, party committees need a developed methodology for comprehensive future planning, a generalization of the best experience in such planning from party groups to party raykoms (gorkoms). There should be a more extensive illumination of the results of sociological research on different problems of communist education, of the arrangement of social experiments in labor collectives and in the region. More articles should be published on the problems of coordinating and managing the education process.

A final word at the conference was said by P. K. Luchinskiy. The participants passed the recommendations developed with regard to questions that were discussed.

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8228

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NATIONAL

KOMSOMOL CONCERN OVER HIGH YOUTH LABOR TURNOVER

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 83 p 2

/Article by V. Arkhipov, secretary of the Moscow City Komsomol Committee: "Destiny Commences at the Entrance"

/Text/ What can the Komsomol Committee do to counter labor turnover?

The brigade of adjusters from the "Kalibr" Plant has on its own initiative assumed leadership responsibility for a group from the base PTU /professional and technical institution/. "It is necessary to lend a helping hand to these young men to assist them in becoming workers!" A sceptic, apparently, will say that since the brigade is a leader it is servicing machine tools that are complicated, particularly when they are numerically controlled, and is headed by Vyacheslav Meshcherikov, a delegate to the 19th Komsomol Congress. But just what makes the behavior of this brigade so remarkable, he might say? This is no outstanding discovery!

How is one to respond to such a sceptic? Everyone knows that the long professional training of young workers is fraught with frustrations: violations of discipline, unauthorized absences and the turnover in personnel. This means that the problem of adapting requires the careful consideration of the Komsomol workers.

At the 4th Plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee it was stated that young workers are not always morally prepared for work on the production line. For example, one in ten graduates of a professional and technical institution does not even show up at the assignment office. There is no doubt but that much depends upon the Komsomol as to whether or not the new worker remains in the collective. The fellows in the brigade of Vyacheslav Meshcherikov have understood this. Just as at the Komsomol collectives of the ZIL /Automobile Plant imeni Likhachev/, AZLK /Moscow Order of Labor Red Banner Automobile Plant imeni Leninist Komsomol/, the Moscow Machine Tool Building Plant imeni Sergo Ordzhonikidze and other leading Moscow plants do others understand this problem.

The most serious aspect of the adaptation problem is the turnover of young personnel. According to statistics, 60 percent of those released on their own request are young people. What do these alarming figures say when "translated" into the language of the Komsomol work? What sort of conclusions are we forced to reach?

The experience of many enterprises shows that in struggling with the turnover problem it is necessary to know specifically what is making the young people ask to leave. However, in the director's office or in the personnel department the young workers is hardly inclined to express his opinion openly as he might to his peers. It is as if things were like this: there are Komsomol offices of the shop organizations, the Komsomol committee, through which the administration can at any time find out about the reason for the turnover.

But, alas, the answer is not always known. How, for example, can one explain the almost universal flourishing of the most simple anonymous sociological cross examinations? What do the activists want to discover? Perhaps, they want to know what the ordinary Komsomol workers will not tell them in their conversations?

The authority of the Komsomol committees and offices, if it were sufficiently strong among the young people, could go a long way toward improving labor discipline. "We vote with our legs", is the half-joking reaction to a meeting if the fellows do not show up. But if they leave the enterprise rather than the meeting is this not also "voting"?

In reality, the turnover of young workers is a direct reproach to the Komsomol Committee for its formalism. Komsomol workers are leaving the enterprise, but in the position of some Komsomol organizers the consumer approach often prevails: "The turnover of young people?", they ask. "The enterprise must build a recreational facility and provide the young people with more apartments." Of course, these are just requirements, but they are pronounced as if after their fulfillment the Komsomol organizers will win the right to hold discussions with the Komsomol workers who are leaving.

The nuance of the consumer position can also be observed in another aspect (also a hindrance to the struggle against turnover): to fully understand a problem if only one Komsomol is unable to solve it.

Logic must be just the other way around. It is necessary to study a problem so completely that the economic managers, organs and departments, in whose hands rests all authority and material resources, have nothing to do but take action. Then the Komsomol organizations can be on equal footing with the most reliable of partners.

It cannot be said that they are not fighting against turnover in the Komsomol organizations. At present, most likely, at all enterprises we will find quite a few forms of work (visiting the museums of the plant and shop, the rituals of being initiated into the workforce, and corresponding with those who have joined the army, etc.), which promote the stability of the collective. But we shall not deceive ourselves about the effectiveness of these activities. I asked the secretaries of the Komsomol committees at several enterprises about the number of workers who return to the plant following their military service. I was told one in five, one in ten and almost none.

Of course, the effect of the Komsomol work could be greater. First of all it is necessary to pay heed to the individual forms of education, keeping in mind that from the simple increasing of the number of slogans "to strengthen individual work" things will not change. Apparently it is necessary to set very specific assignments in the individual education.

For many young men and women the act of resigning is not always a well thought out step; often it is not difficult to prevent it. I recall this instance. Sergey Bazdyrev came to the polishing machine tool building plant to work as a lathe operator. It did not work out and he also failed to make it as a milling machine operator. He announced his intention to leave. But before signing his resignation papers he was asked in the Komsomol Committee office why he was leaving. Sergey admitted that he had wanted to work on numerically controlled machine tools in the Komsomol brigade. Three years passed. Now Sergey Bazdyrev is an operator and adjuster of numerically controlled machine tools. And what is more he is a plant leader.

At this point I would like to mention that in the struggle against labor turnover it is necessary to increase the responsibility of the young leading workers for the training of the new workers. Has this section of our work been neglected? At first glance the answer is no. At the ZIL plant alone there are 2,500 pairs of "tutor and student" making joint pledges; and many of the tutors are themselves of Komsomol age. Here is yet another fact. At the enterprises of the capital in the Komsomol committees almost one half of the staff is comprised of young leading workers. But are they doing everything that they can as the organizers of the education process?

I asked this question many times and in response I received a sigh or a reference to a lack of time. And does Vyacheslav Meshcherikov really have more time? It is just that he knows what to do to fight against labor turnover and the others do not.

What gives rise to the question about the organizational potential of the better part of the young working class? Because, I repeat, many new workers today are simply not ready to work in conditions

of the modern production line. And this is the reason for the majority of the resignations. The young leading worker understands the problem of the new workers better than any other teacher since he has experienced it himself and knows how to explain to the new worker - and he also knows what to expect and demand of the new worker.

At the same meeting many emphasized the tremendous possibilities of training the new workers within the collective and in the brigade. In the Komsomol committee of the Krasnyy proletariy plant they are convinced that if the new worker from the very start is not assigned to a brigade, then the probability of his resigning very soon increases.

In reality, in the brigade the living experience of each somehow becomes the common property of all - this is a specific guarantee from the hasty decisions of the new worker. On the other hand, having encountered the shortcomings on the production line, the brigade members together are able to more quickly eliminate them. This is confirmed in practice of nearly 400 Komsomol collectives at the ZIL plant: here labor turnover is half as great and the number of violators is six-fold below what it is on the whole for the plant.

Recently the office of the Moscow City Komsomol Committee criticized the poor quality of work of several Komsomol organizations in the Gagarinsky Rayon of the capital, particularly the 14th bus park, the 21st taxi park, the rayon food sales office. It was characteristic that placidity, tranquility and self-satisfaction were "registered" in those Komsomol committees, against which the young people had filed complaints about the style of work. Which is to say: formalism and indifference toward the destinies of the young men and women does not contribute to the authority of the Komsomol leaders.

The basis of authority is always a real problem. The struggle against labor turnover at the enterprises can and must become one of the key concerns of the Komsomol committees. Their contribution is to strengthen production discipline and to organize the labor of the young people.

8927

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NATIONAL

DIFFICULTIES IN ACHIEVING ACTUAL EQUALITY FOR SOVIET WOMEN OUTLINED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 23 Mar 83) pp 83-88

[Article by Professor N. D. Shimin, doctor of philosophical sciences:
"The Social Equality of Women and Men as a Factor in the Development of the Individual"]

[Excerpts] The basic difficulty in the process of developing equality between women and men lies in harmonizing it with the special social role of the woman. The success of the USSR in creating the conditions necessary for harmoniously coordinating work and family activities for the woman is well-known. However, it cannot be said that all problems in this area have already been solved. Non-antagonistic contradictions between the professional and family functions of the woman continue to exist. These contradictions are strengthened by the fact that under conditions of developed socialism women, especially urban women, bear most of the burden for housework as compared to men.

Women who work outside the home and have minor children spend 30-40 hours per week doing housework (see: EKONOMIKA I ORGANIZATSIYA PROMYSHLENNOGO PROIZVODSTVA, 1976, No 6, p 115). This attests to the fact that the amount of time spent in housework by women exceeds by several times the desired norm that has been set at 12.5 hours per week. As a result on weekdays women spend 2.7 times more time on housework than men; on weekends--1.7 times more. This is based mainly on the lags in the development of a collective form of everyday life as well as on the insufficiently effective work of enterprises providing communal and everyday-living services and public services as a whole. One of the most important goals of the social program for the 11th Five-Year Plan is the continued development of the sphere of public services, which will considerably curtail non-work time spent on housework by women and will increase their leisure time.

As a result of the "double" work day (in industry and at home) women still do not have conditions equal to those of men for cultural and professional growth and for the development of their individuality. Because of this in socialism there do exist actual elements of inequality between men and women. The remnants of actual inequality for women remain in the production-administration and scientific spheres as well as the sphere of family and

everyday life, which hinders the process of the harmonious development of a woman's individuality and through her, that of a man's, as was stated above. Thus, in the sphere of scientific activity this inequality is especially striking--women comprise 28 percent of all candidates of science and 14 percent of all doctors of science. The creation of conditions necessary for women for the efficient coordination of professional and family functions is the socio-economic aspect of the solution to the problem of establishing social equality for women.

The other aspect of the given problem is related to developing and putting into the practice of educational work methods of a differentiated approach. This requirement is often not adhered to. Social equality between the sexes by no means signifies the eradication and levelling of psychological differences between men and women. In educational practice a consideration of this should be made. If this is not done it is possible to incur incorrectable damage to the harmonious development of a woman's identity. Jean Jacques Rousseau was correct in writing, "Developing masculine qualities in a woman while disregarding her inherent qualities means acting in a way that is harmful to her" (Rousseau, Jean Jacques, "Selected Works," Moscow, 1961, Vol. 1, p 554).

Of course, the absolutization of psychological differences between women and men in the process of education is intolerable. One of the consequences of this may be one-sided solutions to the problems of education. Thus, under capitalist conditions society concerns itself with developing intellectual capacities in men and emotions and feeling in women. Similar directions in education in a society with class antagonisms, particularly in capitalist society, were noted for the first time by A. Bebel' (see: Bebel', A. "Zhenshchina i sotsializm" [The Woman and Socialism], Moscow, 1959, p 190).

Adhering to the requirements of a differentiated approach to the problems of education with a consideration of the sexual dimorphism of people is especially essential under conditions in which the process of achieving social equality between women and men is intensifying. Women are more and more persistently and purposefully mastering professions that earlier were considered traditionally male. In turn, men are taking on some of the duties and family obligations that in the past belonged to women.

However, the process of redistributing obligations between men and women must by no means signify the eradication of their individual qualities and the denial of those values that are related to the fulfillment of the most important social functions within the family, including firstly the functions of fatherhood and motherhood. "If a woman (or a man)," emphasizes F. Khorvat, "loses interest in seeking continuity through children, if they do not demonstrate concern for the future of society of which they are members then they can be regarded as people with an abnormal psychological orientation. In such cases we can suppose that people oriented in this way not only do not properly understand the purpose and value of fatherhood or motherhood but also do not understand the purpose of life. In connection with this they develop an improper attitude toward other basic values in life" (Khorvat, F., "Lyubov', materinstvo, budushcheye" (Love, Motherhood and the Future), translated from Slovakian, Moscow, 1982, p 36).

From this follows that the preparation of young men and women for family life is one of the most important social and moral goals of a society of developed socialism and that it must be dealt with on a societal scale.

Sociologists, teachers and journalists have frequently written about the necessity to strengthen the preparation of young people for family life. On the basis of sociological research it was discovered that young married women experience great difficulties in organizing family life, in developing a healthy moral and psychological climate within the family and in their ways of expressing concern for their children and husband (see: Sysenko, V., "Kak otnosyatsya zheny k svoim muzh'yam" [The Attitudes of Wives to their Husbands] in journal ZHESHCHINY NA RABOTE I DOMA, Moscow, 1978, p 68). The further strengthening of the family and harmonic development of identity depend greatly on teaching women about the qualities that are necessary for the successful fulfillment of functions within the family.

No less important in the preparation of young men for family life. According to data from one sociological study, in 20 out of 100 cases the reason for divorce was the inability of the wife to run the house and the lack of desire on the part of the husband to help her (see: Chechot, D. M. "Sotsiologiya braka i razvoda" [The Sociology of Marriage and Divorce], Leningrad, 1973, pp 25-26). In connection with this approval should be given to the initiative of the USSR Ministry of Education concerning introducing a special course on hygiene, ethics and the psychology of family life in the upper grades of high school. Here, as A. G. Kharchev correctly emphasizes, "the preparation of young people for marriage through the family, the school and the means of mass communication must include information not only on the romance and satisfaction of love but also on all the dangers people are subject to with an irresponsible attitude toward the problems of sexual relations--venereal disease, male impotency, infertility and the influence of alcohol and its consequences on progeny" (Kharchev, A. G. "Brak i sem'ya v SSSR" [Marriage and the Family in the USSR], Moscow, 1979, p 207).

It is essential that the problem of preparing young people for family life be dealt with comprehensively. It is especially important to connect sex and moral-aesthetic education. "The relations between spouses," emphasizes I. S. Kon, "always have been, are and will continue to be based on responsible dependence and must from the very beginning be recognized as such. This is the basis for the necessity to teach young people both sex education and the moral-aesthetic aspects of relationships" (Kon, I. S. "Na styke nauk" [At the Junction of Sciences], VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1981, No 10, p 55).

The preparation of young men and women for family life has still another purpose--facilitating the idea that family life and work done in the home are just as prestigious for the individual as working outside the home.

The individual exists only as a man or as a woman. L. Feyerbakh was correct when he said that the individual's recognition of himself as a man or a woman was an imperative prerequisite for the successful development of the individual. He wrote that "the individual identity is nothing without sexual differentiation. Male and female identities differ considerably from each other. Where

there is no second person there can be no first; but the differences between the first and second persons, the basic condition for any identity, or for any consciousness, becomes more authentic, vital, and bright in the form of the differences between a man and a woman. The 'you' said between a man and a woman sounds completely different from the monotonous 'you' between friends" (Feuerbach, L. "Izbrannyye filosofskiye proizvedeniya" [Selected Philosophical Works], Moscow, 1955, Vol 2, p 124). In L. Feuerbach's opinion the virtue and worth of a man lies in his masculinity; of a woman--in her femininity.

However, at the level of the development of the social qualities of an individual, i.e. of his identity, the influence of natural-biological and anthropological (in this case sexual) differences is mediated by social conditions. Social determination (social being) plays a decisive role in the development of an individual's identity. Within the system of social relations a man and woman appear as the subjects of activity, as individuals. This is why Marxism-Leninism criticizes the anthropological approach to the individual and characterizes identity as the active subject of the historical process and corresponding social relations and as the subject who creatively fulfills specific social functions. The objective prerequisites for the harmonious development of a woman's identity involve the optimal coordination of the basic types of activity--professional and family. This is why education is called upon to prepare women for both types of activity.

In developing a system of measures on improving work, living and leisure conditions for women who work the 26th CPSU Congress took into consideration the many levels of a woman's activities. The "Basic Directions of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and in the Period to 1990" call for the creation of the conditions necessary to enable working mothers to efficiently coordinate their professional activities and their roles as mothers. These resolutions of the congress were consolidated in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures to Strengthen State Aid to Families with Children" (see: PRAVDA, 1981, 31 March) as well as in the materials of the seventh session of the 10th meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

There is no doubt of the importance of professional and social activities for women in achieving complete social equality with men. However, the under-evaluation of those functions which they perform within the family is fraught with serious social and moral-psychological consequences for the formation and development of their identities. Since the concept "woman's identity" provides a comprehensive characterization of a woman as the subject and object of the social process it is essential to examine her family and social functions in organic unity with her individual manifestation of her social essence and her identity-forming qualities.

The social equality of women and men is a factor in the development of the identities of both. From this it follows that under conditions of increased equality between the sexes special significance is acquired by the working out of problems related to the characteristic ideal of the modern woman. In the past the ideal of the woman was limited by recognizing her rights to be only a bride, wife, mother and housewife. "By marrying a woman selects her

basic form of activity," wrote the English positivist philosopher, economist and social activist John Stuart Mill in his book "The Subordination of Woman" (St. Petersburg, 1906, p 25). This determined the entire education of women. Basically it was directed at developing the spheres of emotions and morals in preparation for family life.

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8228

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NATIONAL

HARD LIFE OF SOVIET EMIGRES IN ISRAEL REPORTED

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian 15 Apr 83 p 3

/Article, no author given: "The Cost of a Mistake"

/Text/ The fate of the people who were tempted by generous promises to find paradise overseas and lost their motherland is very hard. As testified by witnesses, they pay brutally for their mistakes. The American magazine NEWSWEEK published recently a report by its correspondent on the life of the former Soviet citizens in the "Promised Land." The Novosti Press Agency publishes this report in an abridged form.

They look like people who found themselves in a psychological trap in a no-man's land between the place of their origin and their new home where they do not feel quite right. They feel frustrated because of cultural and language barriers. They are continuously tormented by memories of their former home. According to Yuri Miloslavsky, an emigrant from the USSR, they are afraid to mention in Israel that they have come over from the Soviet Union.

It is a problem to find a good job. That is why all newcomers desire to receive a special permanent status "kviut"; which guarantees they will not be laid off. But it can be provided, however, only 1-2 years after employment, and perspectives to get it are quite illusive.

A number of former Soviet citizens would like to go back after not finding here "a place in the sun." They think that coming to Israel was their life's greatest mistake. "We have tried four times to go back, but we failed to do that," said a woman that left Tajikistan in 1973 with her handicapped husband and six children.

Her late repentance is not at all unique. There are many people who are deeply sorry that they were tempted to go to Israel.

Most of the emigrants who want to go back are from the Middle Asian republics and the Caucasus. Few of them speak Hebrew. That is why when they got to the "Promised Land" they found themselves isolated within the areas of their ethnical groups. Adjustment to new conditions in small national communities appears to be very difficult. An especially strong resentment towards discrimination by

the local bodies exists on the part of this category of people who are contemptuously called 'sephards'---"second rate" persons.

"Israeli officials behave abominably towards the newcomers from Soviet Central Asia," says a former scientific associate from Tajikistan. "If you come by mistake to the wrong office, they will throw you out, even if they are not busy but are just drinking coffee or smoking."

Many families fall apart upon arrival to Israel. Mothers stop caring for their children. Having found themselves independent in a new environment, the teenagers become aggressive. The changes in the behavior of their children arouse serious concern among emigrants. The formation of numerous gangs that hang around in the streets with rubber batons is a kind of peculiar protest of the young people. Racial propaganda in Israel has a pernicious effect on the young souls. The gangs often attack Palestinian schoolchildren and students. They operate in the manner of the inveterate "Chernosotentsy" /Black Hundred--1905-7 anti-revolutionary groups/.

12317

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NATIONAL

NEED TO PROMOTE REALISM IN THEATER REPERTOIRE REVIEWED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 19 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by S. Plisetskaya, director: "And So, What is the Main Thing?"]

[Text] One of the published letters from viewers touched upon questions which deeply worry me. Let me cite several lines:

"...Has there not arisen a certain standard of 'modern manner' in the theater", asks the author, "a standard which is becoming typical for most common performances? The actors on the stage are in constant hurried motion, internal variation is replaced by external dynamics. The fantastic one might almost say 'Martian' character of the set decorations intensifies the unreality of the actor's existence. As a result there is an absence of 'something', which arises only with a deep merging of all the components of the play and further exists as its soul, its ideal image, and even as its reason..."

The questions are very significant and disturbing.

In truth there are many plays in which this "something" or, more precisely the overriding purpose of the play is absent, in which the method of the actor's on-stage existence has become extremely "simplified" and superficial. This is the bitter truth which cannot be escaped.

At a certain stage in the theatrical process the striving toward maximal conditionality, toward external theatricality, toward the director's self-expression prevailing over all was fruitful in its own way. However, even then this often led to a superficial reading of the dramatic production, to an obliteration of genres, to an impoverishment of the psychological character development. Subsequently, the ever more ingrained absolutization of the director's conceptions, the director's adopted right to take liberties with the dramatist's text and plot (transferring lines to a "neighboring" character, rewriting and restructuring, and sometimes editing out entire scenes), the disregard for in-depth penetration by the actor into the image, for the problem of over-personification have led to significant shortcomings in the development of the realist school.

For some time all this had been considered as "innovation". Before our eyes and in our memory these innovations became old and turned into cliches, but the problem is that they are still actively being used in theatrical practice. The so-called "symbolic designation" of characters and stage setting devoid of place of action and time markers may be found even at a great distance from the capital theaters. This was concluded with deep regret, for example, by the participants in the discussion of festival plays devoted to the image of the modern worker in theatre, as well as on the stage in Sverdlovsk and Magnitogorsk. Different theatres presented different plays but, as if agreed beforehand, they presented in their majority a certain ultimate conditional "singular arrangement" of grey, unexpressive tones.

Today plays where the internal meaning is organically tied with the spatial setting are a rarity. About 15 years ago the use of the stage simultaneously for several addresses of action was an innovation. (I may remind you of the wonderful, aesthetically proven play by A. Efros "Farther--it is Quiet" in the Theatre imeni Mossovet with the remarkable work of F. Ranevskaya and R. Plyatt). Today such a spatial resolution of the stage has become the standard, but with a persistence worthy of better application it is used everywhere, in every dramatist's play, sometimes not only at the expense of the aesthetic integrity, but also to the detriment of the meaning.

In the play "Living Corpse", recently presented by A. Efros on the stage of MKhat [Moscow Artistic Order of Lenin and Order of the Red Labor Banner UUSR Academic Theater imeni M. Gorky]. The "single setting" throughout the entire play is perceived as something forced, foreign to L. Tolstoy, and not containing the necessary information. The viewer wants to see in this play not the tiresome "symbolic evaluation" of the place of action, but the place of action itself with its aroma and rhythm, with concrete everyday social objects; he wants to understand and feel how these people lived. The absence of a real atmosphere of everyday life greatly impoverishes this play.

And in general is it so necessary that in every play, in every performance the actors themselves or the stagehands move furniture before the viewer's eyes or put up props during intermission? Is it so necessary to have at every performance an absent curtain, an "open" stage? Is it always fruitful to have the importunate destruction of the theatre's secrets? I believe the time has come to think about all this, to understand that today this is not an innovation, not even a search, but most probably an indifferent following of an outdated mode.

Obviously, we are not speaking of fully "crossing out" theatrical conditionality, of throwing overboard the means of expression accumulated by the director's theatre. Conditionality is inseparable from realism, and thanks to it encompasses the entirety.

We are speaking of the serious, thought-out use of conditionality. The measure of conditionality adopted in the performance is determined by the

plot of the play, its genre, and by the outlook of the dramatist. The metaphor must be capacious, encompassing in itself the essence of the phenomena, the deep regularities of life.

A remarkable example of such conditionality is the MKhAT performance "So We Will Conquer!" by M. Shatrov staged by O. Yefremov. Much has been written about it. I want only to stress the fact that the conditionality of spatial decisions here becomes a precise form of expression of content, of the artistic whole, and thereby it "works" wonderfully for the in-depth clarification of historical collisions and of the central character.

Russian drama, Russian theatre have always been distinguished by civil passion, by moral substance in evaluations of real happenings, exposing the guilty with great force and confirming the righteous. And are there few plays which we could name in which the real happenings are represented with remarkable "objectivism", if not to say indifference? The viewer is presented with a certain "neutral" flow of life. The director's and often even the author's point of view is absent. The viewers in the audience are given the opportunity of "judging for themselves", or of not judging at all, but simply watching and being entertained.

There are many examples of this. Let us take for instance the "Bedbug" by V. Mayakovskiy which toured last summer in Moscow and was presented by the Komsomol 'sk-on-Amur Dramatic Theatre. It was literally drowning in external effects and entertaining tricks. Songs, rhymes, harmonica and piano playing, deafening whistles, piercing shouts, dances and more dances, over and over. But what is this play about? Where is Mayakovskiy's bitter sarcasm directed against the petty Bourgeoisie, where is his passionate, great faith in tomorrow? At times it seems that the only concern of the performance's creators is to bring the action to a dance sequence.

Oh, these dance sequences with songs... They roam from play to play, they go through the theatres today like some kind of epidemic. It is difficult, I believe, to count what is today presented to the viewer more often--a set of these dance sequences or a various assortment of table settings and drinks.

It is generally believed that the theatre condemns drunkenness and fights against it. But what is the case in reality? In a play dealing with modern times, scenes of drinking are not rare.

It has become a sort of indicator of the art--to reliably depict various degrees of drunkenness by the leading characters. In one theatre we had occasion to see the following scene: after combat, soldiers drink home brew until they lose their human appearance. And this is in a play based on the short story by V. Astaf'yev, "Shepherd and Shepherdess", full of moral depth and deep tenderness. As paradoxical as this may seem, depicting drunkenness on the stage or on the screen does not so much expose the ruinous phenomenon, as gives it legality and confirmation through the force of art.

Even more disturbing is the depiction of love problems in many plays and performances. What is there to say, today one rarely finds examples of true friendship or manifestation of true love on the stage. In the attempts to be "modern" (or in the interests of the "box office!"), theatres often show a rather simplified picture of love, more precisely a variety of notorious sex, "permissiveness".

This bad fashion is also considered to be an "innovation" by some. The alcove-erotic element is actively woven into the action, and not only in modern plays, but often times even into the classics. Semi-nude bodies, doubtful poses, risky situations have become a commonplace standard. In the performance of "Ugly El'za" given by the Moscow Drama Theatre imeni N. V. Gogol, for example, the situation goes as far as frank savoring of piquant details. In the recently presented, strongly "modernized" television version of the "Last Sacrifice", the relationship between Dulchin and Irina is depicted on the borderline of obvious obscenity.

The question arises: is such stage "material" capable (in its majority) of rendering an inspiring influence on the viewer, particularly the young viewer, of educating the senses, of confirming the beauty of relationships? Let us not fool ourselves: among part of our young there is already sufficient manifestation of consumerism, egotism, cynical disregard for moral norms. Much has already been mournfully written about this. Is it right to ignore this? Is it necessary to give rein to philistine attitudes, to expend the clarity of positions in evaluating good and evil, not to seek the truly high tasks worthy of the art of socialist realism?

Again we are not speaking of sanctimoniously "distilling" themes of love in the theatre, of depriving it of its versatility and full-bloodedness. The task is for it not to lose its spirituality, its high sense of humanity in the stage personification of this great theme. The play "Sashka" in the Theatre imeni Mossovet was able to show a night of love between leading characters randomly brought together by war in such a way that we perceive the fullness of their feelings, the sincerity of their emotional experiences, their human dignity.

Thus, where does the great "something"--the soul of the theatre--reside today? Why do we sense it less often than we would like? We believe that one of the reasons lies in the thoughtless enthusiasm for trends by many directors, in the departure from the primary tasks by which the theatre lives, in the loss of taste for the deep comprehension of the human character. Moreover, the viewer will no longer be satisfied either with a "symbolic" or with some other superficial representation of man. The stage needs a deeply and comprehensively exposed personality with all its inherent psychological processes, presented in the entire originality of thought and emotion. "It is important that performancees expose the best traits of Soviet man", we read in a recent CPSU Central Committee resolution, "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academic Theatre imeni Yanka Kupalo", "his inherent ideological maturity, the scope of his thoughts and actions, his ability to find the right decisions in the acute conflict situations, his sense of

collectivism, his moral purity." These positions entail, I believe, the entire program of searching for that hero which the viewer expects of us, a search which is being conducted by all those associated with the theatre.

The second reason consists of enthusiasm with "technology". In his efforts to be inventive, the director often forgets the very heart of the Russian realist school—the teaching of K. S. Stanislavskiy about the overriding purpose.

It would also be useful to have broader practical introduction of the production experience of Vl. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, who, unlike any other, at the very beginning of the work was concerned about the final ideological outcome of the performance, clarifying the essence and poetic nature of the play. And just as comprehensively he brought this to the attention of the actors at the very first rehearsals, in this channel building the conflict, exposing and confronting the characters. Here "every little coal" was thrown into the fire of open action.

One may excell in seeking effective stagings and all kinds of musical "support". One may adorn the performance again and again with fanciful tricks. However, all this does not penetrate deep into the soul of the viewer. Only living pain and thirst for truth instilled in the performance, the trepidation of the actor's conscience, the passionate, deeply penetrating rejection of evil and acceptance of good engender a deep response reaction from the viewing audience, that intangible and all-powerful "something". The catharsis. The miracle of the theatre.

The times today are complex and severe. And this presents the artists of the theatre with the requirement of creating an art to cleanse and strengthen the human soul, an art capable of giving it spiritual fulfillment.

12322

CSO: 1800/1118

NATIONAL

READERS FIND USE OF FOREIGN EMBLEMS, BRAND LABELS 'INTOLERABLE'

Politics, Fashion Linked

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 83 p 2

/Letter by D. Schitkovskiy, Odessa/

/Text/ ...I'm riding home from my shift on a regularly scheduled bus. On the window-glass of the driver's cab there is a painstakingly painted advertisement for American cigarettes.

...A few months pass, and the city streets blossom forth with multi-colored, dyed blouses and sports jerseys.... And suddenly one's eye is struck by an advertisement for these same cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, photographs of soloists from rock groups, painted up, half-naked beauties and blood-stained supermen.... Someone comes out in a jersey, sewn as if from an American or a British flag, while someone else is showing off images of the "American eagle."

They say that this is very fashionable--to wear "private-company types of things," clothes from "the States," and that this has nothing at all to do with a person's convictions. I do not agree with such conclusions. Fashion is directly linked with politics.

I have had occasion to serve as a sailor in the crews of large passenger liners. I have been in many countries of the world and walked along the streets of foreign cities. I looked, saw, and compared.

In various countries and in America itself honorable persons have burned the U.S. flag. Because it covered itself with shame in Vietnam and in many other wars of aggression. Even today under this flag interference continues in the affairs of other countries; it waves over U.S. military bases on foreign territories.... How can a Soviet person put on himself the image of the flag of such a country, the symbol of such an army?

/"Interlocutor" has already written more than once on the direct connection between fashion and politics. This newspaper's mail shows that Komsomol committees must be more persistent in forming an anti-consumer morality among young persons, along with political cultural standards and a Soviet civic-mindedness./ **/in boldface/**

Western Fashions Criticized

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 83 p 2

/Letter by A. Litvinov, Krasnodar/

/Text/ I read D. Schitkovskiy's letter entitled "Convictions Wrong-Side Out" (KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 9 February).

Just a few words about myself: I am 24 years old; I graduated from the Rostov Institute of Construction Engineering and was called into the army. I served in the limited contingent of Soviet troops which are in Afghanistan at the request of the latter's legitimate government. And so I would like very much for you to print my letter, so that those who wear "private-company types of things from the States" may learn the opinion of a Komsomol member who has seen the trademark of "the States" not only on jeans but on shells and mines.

I consider that the wearing of clothes with flags and emblems of the NATO countries and their armies is intolerable.

Such is also the opinion of those who served with me, those who saw the trademark "U.S. Army" on the weapons which were fired at us.

2384

CSO: 1800/1043

NATIONAL

SIBERIAN NATIONALITIES WRITERS MEET IN MAGADAN

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian No 14, 1 Apr 83 p 9

[Article by Yuriy Lukin: "Good Greatness"]

[Text] On the initiative of the Magadan obkom, the Komsomol and the Magadan Writer's Organization secretariat, governed by the RSFSR Writers' Union and the Komsomol Central Committee, passed a joint resolution to organize the 3d All-Russian Seminar of Young Writers from the North and Far East for 11-20 April 1983 in the city of Magadan. Storytellers and folklorists are also to participate. In anticipation of this meeting LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA is publishing the article of critic Yuriy Lukin which is devoted to the work of the younger generation of writers in this region.

Among the numerous works that have been published in connection with the 60th anniversary of the USSR the collection of works "Blizok Krayniy Sever" [The Extreme North is Close] attracts special attention.*

The severe expanses of the Extreme North, the remote ocean of Siberian taiga that the eye cannot quite take in, the rivers and seashores of the Far East that are so abundant for hunters and fishermen...Many different types of nationalities have been living on this land for centuries. The lands which they settled varied greatly, but the fates of the people were sadly similar prior to October. All of the people were subject to inhuman exploitation by Russian merchants and industrialists as well as by local oppressors and rich men from the local population. Entire nationalities were threatened with disappearing off the face of the earth, with extinction.

Soviet power and the socialist structure did more than just save the lives of the previously doomed nationalities. One of the greatest victories of the Leninist national policies of our state was that in the family of nationalities within the Soviet Union every nationality, even the smallest, was given equality

* "Blizok Krayniy Sever," Collection of works by the young writers of the nationalities of the North and Far East. Izdatel'stvo Sovremennik, 1982, 431 pages, 2 rubles.

and favorable conditions for development. It is difficult to give a name to this phenomenon--a jolt, an impetuous change, a miracle--which was new to the history of man.

Already in the 1930's we have the appearance of the first works by northern writers whose names would be written into the first chapters of a history on multi-national Soviet literature.

And further? In the course of one generation literatures are developed that produce writers who today are known in many countries of the world. The books of Yuriy Rytkey, Yuvan Shestakov, Vladimir Sangi, Grigoriy Khodzher, Vasilii Ledkov, Vladimir Koyanto, Semen Kurilov, Petr Kile and Leonid Laptuya are considered an integral part of our literature.

And now the third wave has come--the young reinforcements for a still very young literature. The collection of which we are speaking is composed of works by the participants of two seminars conducted by the Komsomol Central Committee and the RSFSR Writers' Union in 1978 and 1980.

This is the work of young writers from the Extreme North and Far East. From what walks of life did these people come to literature? Which professions enriched their life experience and equipped them with all that is necessary for a writer? These writers include livestock farmers and hunters, members of hunting artels, a photo journalist, a sovkhos bookkeeper, radio workers, journalists, workers from centers on the study of national art, librarians, artists, a chairman of a village soviet, technologists and teachers. They include graduates of the Literary Institute imeni A. M. Gorky. They include members of the USSR Writers' Union.

Some write in their own national language, some in Russian and some in both.

Their poems and prose reflect the past and present, urgent problems that disturb the hearts and minds of the residents of northern regions and problems that need solutions. The authors give special attention to the necessity to coordinate the struggle for the new things in the lives of their peoples with a consideration of local specific character and natural peculiarities with the persistence of progressive traditions and customs. A very important thing they emphasize is the significance of preserving ancient professions, which are so valuable to the national economy. Extremely significant are questions raised by the authors with regard to the work with local young people and to the transmission of experience that has accumulated over the centuries. The most essential links the civic passion of these works with the deep meaning of that which is dealt with in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, "On Measures for the Continued Economic and Social Development of Regions Inhabited by the Nationalities of the North."

The uniqueness of nature and of national everyday life and the colors of folklore lend the works of these writers their characteristic coloration. The pictures painted with the words of Northern poets and prose writers are saturated with the colors of the native paysage and with the colors of the taiga with its cedars, aspen, larches, sunrises and sunsets, spring and fall attire, cloudberry, bilberry, bog whortleberry, ashberry and its quadrupeds and birds, man's neighbors.

One of the achievements of many of the works is that urgent and topical problems are discussed unpretentiously and unjudgementally; problems are reflected upon by author and reader alike, answers are sought together and there is a striving toward an artistic penetration into the spiritual world of the heroes.

The collection was put together by I. Burkova, who is thoroughly familiar with Northern and Far Eastern literatures. Both poetry and prose are well-represented (there is somewhat more prose). The taiga, tundra and the Amur rise naturally from the pages of the collection in the writings of authors such as Vasiliy Keymetinov, Prokopiyy Yavtysyy, Dmitriy Aprooimov and Nikolay Kurilov. But a mark of the passage of time is that more and more often the "lyrical hero" notes the colors that have been familiar to him since childhood either from a helicopter or from an airplane. However, seeing a plane in the sky above, the hero has a tendency to liken it to something penetrating the blue palisades (Nanay poet Konstantin Bel'dy in "Native Land").

The poems of Yuriy Velly, Nikolay Oyegir and Nikolay Kalitin and the prose of Roman Rugin speak of hunters' secrets and marks and of the customs of taiga dwellers.

National literature that draws on the vitality of folklore acquires an artistic force and boldness akin to fairy tale heroes. Motifs close to folk tales, legends and songs ring true and sincere in the joyous and happy poems of Ul'ch native Prokopiyy Lonk and Nanayk native Anna Khodzher with their gentle lyricism, in the flavor of popular speech and genuine humor of the funny poems of Georgiy Porotov with their bold and passionate rhythm, in the stories of Udegey writer Valentina Kyalundzyuga about her native people and in the stories of Nikolay Kurilov which utilize folk motifs.

All of the works in the collection are different. Philosophical aspirations characterize the hero of the story by Khanty prose writer Yeremey Aypin. The lyricism of Eskimo Zoya Nenlyumkina is temperamental. The rhythm of the lines written in Russian by another Eskimo, Tat'yana Achirgina, is resilient. The dramatic events of the Civil War come to life in the assured prose of Evenksk novella writer Aleksandr Latkin. The peculiarity of the stories of Il'el'men native Natal'ya Selivanova lies in the pointed and almost nervous strokes of the works.

A theme close to the hearts of northerners centers around deer, the fate of deer raising as an ancient profession of fellow-countrymen and the movement of young people into the city as a result of education. All of this is included in the lyrics of Saam poet Oktyabrina Voronova and in the poetry and prose of Nenetsk writer Lyubov' Nenyang. This is the theme of a poem by the late Chukotsk poet Vladimir Tneskin. It appears in the poems of Evenk native Andrey Krivoschapkin. This theme gathers great force in an excellent story by Nenetsk writer Anna Nerkagi, "Aniko from the Tribe of Nogo."

Is there any need for a reminder about the responsible role played by the translator? Unfortunately, not all of the translations of poetry in the

collection have reached the desired professional level. The most successful translation is one that approaches the stylistics of the original naturally. Alas, it happens again and again in the translation of poetry that there is no stylistic adherence to the original so that it even becomes difficult to be sure what era or what century the poems were written in.

After reading the collection some may want to return to the parting words of Vladimir Sangi in the book and to his fellow writers. We will do the same.

Here are the words we would like to quote:

"It would be difficult to imagine how my life would have turned out if I had not been sent to Leningrad after completing seven grades. More than likely I would have continued the work of the men in the tribe by becoming a procurer. I would have been happy with this fate. But Leningrad and with it knowledge turned my life in such a way that I became involved in an occupation that was totally mysterious to my ancestors. Or rather, I became involved in new forms of that which for centuries was brought forth and cherished by the people of my tribe--poetry."

The great Soviet writer emphasizes the difference made in his fate by his acquaintance with and understanding of Russian culture. It was the basis for the author's ability to look into the culture of his own people, to rediscover it for himself anew and to see its greatness.

This type of life's course, this type of fate may be characteristic of most of the writers represented in this collection.

8228

CSO: 1800/1068

NEW BOOK FAULTED FOR MISUNDERSTANDING CAUSES OF SHIFT TO 'NEP'

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 4, Apr 83 (signed to press 30 Mar 83) pp 142-143

[Review by A. I. Sekerin, doctor of philosophical sciences (Chelyabinsk) of book "Lenin i put' k sotsializmu" [Lenin and the Road to Socialism] by Ye. A. Ambartsumov, Moscow, "Molodaya gvardiya", 1982, 318 pages]

[Text] The Leninist topic in scholarship on the history of the party is inexhaustible, for the cause and the teachings of the great Lenin are inexhaustible; their world-historical importance is unsurpassed. "The secret of Leninism's eternal youth," it was noted at a ceremonial session dedicated to the 112th anniversary of the birthdate of our party's founder and leader, the creator of the world's first socialist state, "lies in the fact that Lenin's teachings, his principles, and his ideals are close and understandable to the millions of people in the masses, that each generation of people find in him clear answers to the problems which are troubling them."¹

The book under review shows how V. I. Lenin's creative thought and revolutionary activity developed during the period of the preparation for and the victory of the Great October Revolution and during the first few post-October years, how the plan for building socialism was developed and began to be carried out, as well as how Leninist ideas are being used by the world's communists under present-day conditions. The materials of this book convincingly lead the reader to the conclusion that in our own time, when socialism is becoming more and more a decisive factor of world social development, the importance of Lenin's theoretical conclusions on the roads to building a new society and the accumulation of the practical experience of the first socialistic changes in Soviet Russia is not only not growing weaker but, on the contrary, is growing ever stronger.

The book under review is not the first attempt by this author to study the given topic. It has a great deal in common with his work entitled "Upward to the Summit: Lenin and the Road to Socialism" (Moscow, 1974). Nevertheless, this is not simply a repetition or a supplement to the older work but rather a new step in developing the topic; this book has an inherently more complete utilization of V. I. Lenin's theoretical heritage, a more circumstantial elucidation of the problems of the contemporary struggle for socialism, its complexity and achievements.

Chronologically speaking, the basic contents encompass a rather brief interval of time: from February 1917 to the spring of 1921, up to the transition of the Land of the Soviets to the New Economic Policy. This period provided a colossal amount of material for theoretical conceptualization and the practical "testing out" of ways and methods for the socialist re-structuring of society.

Isolating out this segment of time for scientific analysis is justified in principle. Nevertheless, it is difficult to agree with the fact that the topic "Lenin and the Road to Socialism" has been brought in this book only up to the spring of 1921 and does not include the last period in V. I. Lenin's life and activity, the culminating phase of his development of the plan for building socialism in the Land of the Soviets. In our opinion, in such a form the book is obviously lacking in a quality of completeness. In this regard Ye. A. Ambartsumov's previous work has shown itself to better advantage in that therein the topic was explored on the basis of material drawn from the entire post-October life and activity of V. I. Lenin.

The author attempts to explain the strikingly obvious quality of incompleteness, as mentioned above, by differentiating the periods prior to and following the introduction of the NEP and by a comparatively brief section in his book (see pp 21--22). Moreover, its first section could have been substantially reduced; here he speaks about the history of the preparation and promulgation of the October Revolution; it could have been shortened, inasmuch as this is a different strategic phase in the history of the party. The book would only have gained if the principal attention in it had been concentrated on an analysis of that new historical period whose foundation was laid by the victory of the Great October Revolution. In this case, the contents of the first section would have corresponded more fully to its title: "October: The Beginning of the Road." The author attempts to show the organic connection between the most important Leninist theoretical positions and life, the urgent problems of the present-day struggle for peace and social progress. The book aids the reader through the prism of Lenin's theoretical heritage and the summed-up experience of the first few years of building socialism in the Land of the Soviets to better understand the essence and meaning of the events now occurring in the world, to see more distinctly the general and the particular in the movement of various countries toward socialism.

Running consistently through the book is the thought that the Leninist science of victory, as tested out in experience, allows the working people of other countries and the fraternal Communist Parties to move toward socialism by means of an easier and less painful route, to solve the problems confronting them with less costs and outlays, and to better carry out our common cause.

Ye. A. Ambartsumov's work contains an inherent and clearly expressed irreconcilability toward anti-communism, toward right-wing and "left-wing" opportunism. He convincingly shows the powerlessness of the "critics" of Leninism, the futility of their attempts to disparage and distort the genuine role played by Lenin in history in general, and in the establishment of ways, forms, and

methods of the struggle for socialism in particular. The author is just as irreconcilable to the attempts on the part of bourgeois ideologists and opportunists to belittle the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in social development, to diminish or completely reduce to nothing the historical significance of our party's very rich experience with regard to leadership in building socialism.

The book under review is undoubtedly specific, inasmuch as it is addressed to young people, and, to a large extent, it bears a popular-science nature. Nevertheless, we would not be right in completely relegating it to this genre. This work is polemical; the author states his own ideas on certain disputable problems or those which have not been solved by scholarship. One can fully agree with most of them, but I would like to take issue with certain of them.

Thus, in the second section, entitled "War Communism--A Period of Storm and Stress," Ye. A. Ambartsumov too broadly, in our opinion, has interpreted the essence of the policy of "War Communism" (see pp 163--164); he attempts to show that this policy was carried out, to a certain degree, even to the summer of 1918 (see p 168), that from the standpoint of economic policy the period from the beginning of 1918 and even from the time of the victory of the Great October Revolution and to the spring of 1921 can be regarded as a unified period (see loc. cit.). In order to reinforce this assertion, the author writes as follows: "It was not by chance that, in subsequently assigning a periodization to the development of Soviet Russia in the field of economic construction, Lenin designated as unified the 'period approximately from the beginning of 1918 to the spring of 1921,' which was replaced by the NEP...." (p 168). But upon an attentive reading it is not difficult to discover that the reference to Lenin here is not exact, inasmuch as in the primary source on this it is stated completely differently, namely as follows: "It is very obvious that the two periods in this regard should be divided as follows. On the one hand, the period approximately from the summer of 1918 to the spring of 1921, and, on the other hand, that period in which we have been since the spring of 1921."² It seems improbable, but it is a fact: the author, in striving to reinforce his own opinions by a reference to an authoritative source, obviously replaced Lenin's words; "from the summer of 1918" with his own words--"from the beginning of 1918." It is also known that V. I. Lenin spoke on more than one occasion about the continuity between the New Economic Policy and the policy which had been worked out in the spring of 1918 and which was given a multi-faceted foundation in the work entitled "The Regular Tasks of the Soviet Regime." And the New Economic Policy was not "new" in relation to the policy of "War Communism," but, as Lenin justifiably noted, "essentially--it contains more that is old than in our previous economic policy"³ (i.e., in the policy of "War Communism"--A. S.). This truth also found expression in the resolution of the 11th Party Conference (December 1921). There, in particular, it was noted that the "basic principles" of the NEP had been worked out as far back as the time of the first "breather" during the spring of 1918. "The implementation of this policy," it was indicated in the conference resolution, "was interrupted by the combined attack on the workers' and peasants' state by the counterrevolutionary forces of the

Russian landowners and bourgeoisie and European imperialism, and such implementation became possible only after the military elimination of the efforts of the counterrevolution by the beginning of 1921."⁴

In this connection it is impossible to agree with yet another assertion of Ye. A. Ambartsumov, touching upon the policy of "War Communism." In my opinion, he has allowed an unfounded confusion of accents when he says that this policy came to its end "primarily because of the resistance of the rural areas" (p 248). Obviously, it would have been more correct to say that the principal cause of turning away from "War Communism" and making the transition to the NEP was the victorious emergence of Soviet Russia from the war. Moreover, this is also testified to by the excerpt cited above from the resolution of the 11th All-Russian Conference of the RCP (b).

We cannot fail to note that in a number of cases the author allows factual inaccuracies to appear. He asserts, for example, that between the bourgeois-democratic February Revolution, and the proletarian, socialist October Revolution 10 months elapsed (see p 36). Another cause of irritation are the errors encountered in the citation of sources (see pp 7, 72, 147, 157, 174, 237, 238, 241).

Although the book utilizes quite an extensive circle of sources and literature, the reader will not find here even the briefest historiography of the problem.

The shortcomings and omissions noted above undoubtedly lower the overall level of the book, although they cannot cancel out those merits about which we spoke above, and therefore our generally positive opinion about it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu. V. Andropov, "Leninizm--neissyakaemyy istochnik revolyutsionnoy energii i tvorchestva mass" [Leninism--An Inexhaustible Source of the Revolutionary Energy and Creativity of the Masses], Moscow, 1982, p 4.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 44, p 197.
3. Op. cit., p 156.
4. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences, and Plenums of the Central Committee], Vol 2, Moscow, 1970, p 307.

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2384

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NATIONAL

PROGRESSIVE ROLE OF ORTHODOX CHURCH EXAGGERATED, REVIEWER CLAIMS

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 5 April 1983) on pages 25-28 carries a 1,150-word review of Valeriy Sergeyev's biography, "Andrey Rublev," by Aleksandr Shamaro. According to the reviewer, the book makes exaggerated claims for the importance of the Russian Orthodox Church in the development of Russian history. The reviewer accuses Sergeyev of overstating the influence of the church on the daily lives of the people. In addition, the reviewer recalls other errors of this sort which have crept into a variety of writings on historical themes. He singles out an article which praises St. Sergius of Radonezh as "the inspirer of national revival." The reviewer writes: "The declaration of [St. Sergius] as 'the inspirer of national revival' can not but call forth a protest--especially and chiefly because the reality of such an 'inspirer' presupposes a nation in need of inspiration. In other words, a nation of falling spirits on the threshold of a great historic experience, simply speaking, a frightened and demoralized nation. But such a nation did not exist--could not have existed--either before or after the battle of Kulikovo."

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CHURCH PRESERVATION MORE EFFECTIVE UNDER SOVIETS, WRITER CLAIMS

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 5 April 1983) on pages 31-33 carries an 850-word article titled "Was It Really Like That?" by R. Lobovskaya. The article claims that preservation of important historical treasures was neglected under the Tsarist regime, and that true concern for historically significant architectural monuments began only with the Soviet regime.

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FILM'S CARICATURES OF PRIESTLY LIFE DO NOT AID ATHEIST PROPAGANDA

[Editorial Report] Moscow NAUKA I RELIGIYA in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 5 April 1983) on pages 43-46 carries a 2,100-word article titled "If Only It Were So Simple" by Nina Denisova. The article reviews a new

film, "The Life of the Holy Sisters," based upon an "anti-clerical" novel of the nineteenth century Ukrainian writer, Marko Vovchok. According to the reviewer, the film "looses all sense of artistic measure" in translating Vovchok's satire to the screen, producing a coarse image of religious life without any resemblance to everyday life at all. In particular, the reviewer objects to the grotesque portrayal of priests and nuns, noting that such portraits are ineffective for atheist propaganda: "Already in the Middle Ages the church was concerned that the personal failings of its servants were not viewed by the laity as proof of the unworthiness and falsity of religion. The church maintained an exact distinction between the personality of its priests and their priestly office, which made them, independent of any personal qualities, the bearer of divine grace. And this fact, that such a dogma worked successfully enough for many centuries and continues to work today, shows that to approach the church from this angle is not so simple."

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INFORMAL GROUPS IN STATE APPARATUS ANALYZED

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 4 April 1983) on pages 28-35 carries a 3,000-word article titled "Formal and Informal Groups in the State Apparatus" by A. V. Obolonskiy. The article analyzes formal and informal groups in the state apparatus. The author defines an informal group as one formed within the state apparatus "in accordance with the principles of self-organization, that is, without anyone's instructions, on the basis of friendship or other types of direct interpersonal ties, or on the basis of common membership in other types of social communities, similarity of views, character or interests." The author notes the potential for benefit and harm in such groups and suggests ways in which informal groups can be used to aid in carrying out the tasks assigned to more formal ones. Managers are urged to make use of such informal groups in solving "cadre problems," since these groups already exist within the formal structure and have a greater influence over personnel in certain instances than the formal group has.

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'CLOSED ON WEEKENDS' RULE AMONG LAWYERS, STUDY FINDS

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST' in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 28 April 1983) on pages 33-34 carries a 750-word article titled "Improve Legal Service for Citizens and the Organization of the College of Lawyers" by S. Natruskin and I. Sukharev. According to the authors, "The study of the work of those engaged in legal consultations with the population shows that only 2160 out of 3916 consultations take place on Saturdays, and only 13 on Sundays, 44 of such consultation centers are open only once or twice a week, and 32 only three times. As a result, workers are forced to spend working hours on visits to the attorney." The

authors also complain of "the low level" of legal consultations with agricultural and industrial organizations, a duty underscored by a recent ukase of the Ministry of Justice.

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NAZI WAR CRIMES MUST BE PUNISHED, LEGAL JOURNALS URGE

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA YUSTITSIYA in Russian No 9 May 1983 (signed to press 18 April 1983) on pages 14-15 carries a 1,100-word article titled "Bring the Nazi Criminals to Justice" and Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST' in Russian No 5 May 1983 (signed to press 28 April 1983) on pages 38-39 carries an 800-word article titled "Bring Nazi Criminals to Justice" by M. Rogov. Both articles attack alleged reluctance on the part of Western countries to prosecute Nazi war criminals.

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CC SEMINAR CALLS FOR IMPROVED RAIL TRANSPORT

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Kazakhstan CP held a seminar meeting for the secretaries of network party committees and party organizations of railroad transport in the republic. It dealt with the question of strengthening party leadership over the operations of railroad enterprises in the light of the requirements of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the decrees of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov, at this plenum.

N. A. Nazarbayev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan CP, spoke at the seminar.

While taking into consideration the significance of uninterrupted operation of a single transport system in the national economy of the country, the communist party and Soviet government are giving a great deal of attention to strengthening the material-technical base of rail transport. The assets of railroads in Kazakhstan are growing. In 2 years of the five-year plan over 400 million rubles were invested in the development of rail transport in the republic, over 400 kilometers of electrified lines have been installed, over 500 kilometers of secondary lines and two-track links have been installed, the fleet of main line diesel and electric locomotives has been replaced to a considerable degree and over 270,000 square meters of residential quarters have been built. At the same time serious shortcomings have been tolerated in the management of operations and in the use of cars, locomotives and the capacities of repair enterprises.

Party organizations of railroad enterprises will be called upon to play an important role in solving the complicated problems that are now before railroad workers. It will be their priority task to strengthen labor and technological discipline and organization and to increase the responsibility of every worker in the labor collective for the task at hand.

The seminar emphasized improving management of all links, improving the selection, distribution and training of cadres and increasing the role of

local party organizations in securing the unity of economic, organizational and ideological-education work, in organizing effective socialist competition and in introducing progressive experience.

Measures were discussed to increase the effectiveness of utilizing fixed production funds, to increase labor productivity, to accelerate the introduction of new techniques and technology, to utilize efficient methods of operating locomotives and cars, to economize on the use of materials and fuel and energy resources and to achieve complete preservation of loads. Noted was the necessity to unconditionally fulfill the plans of capital investments for the development of rail transport, primarily into residential facilities and social-municipal structures and to strengthen business cooperation between railroad workers and the workers of industrial enterprises.

Speaking at the seminar were A. D. Borodin and G. M. Shestakov, department directors of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, L. S. Voleyko, director of the department of organizational and party work of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, K. T. Turysov, chairman of the Kazakhstan Trade Union Council and A. V. Milkin, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Committee of People's Control.

The secretaries of party committees and party organizations shared their experience in organizational and political-educational work to implement the decisions of the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 9th Plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. They discussed the leading practices in the struggle to strengthen discipline, to introduce progressive forms of labor organization and to curtail the number of lagging enterprises. They made many valuable recommendations concerning improving the role of party organizations in improving the operation of rail transport and in eliminating existing shortcomings.

At the seminar specific measures were indicated to improve the style and methods of party management of the economic activities of rail transport enterprises and to secure the fulfillment of transport plans for 1983 and for the five-year plan as a whole.

Those at the meeting became acquainted with the work experience of party committees and party organizations of rail transport and of several enterprises in Alma-Ata.

Participating in the work of the seminar were G. F. Yefimov, responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. Z. Dzheksenev, director of the Department of Transportation and Communication of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee and responsible workers of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee and party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms.

8228

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REGIONAL

KAZAKH CENTRAL COMMITTEE BUREAU MEETS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "In the Bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee"]

[Text] At its regular meeting the bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee examined the question of the work of the Kustanay Oblast party organization to increase consumer goods production, to improve their quality and to expand their assortment. It was noted that the oblast's enterprises are producing new types of goods and that supplementary production of goods for the population reached 17 million rubles.

At the same time, the bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee noted that in many enterprises there is an absence of a comprehensive, forward-looking program to increase the production of consumer goods. Party committees and primary party organizations are still doing a poor job to increase the responsibility of cadres for the fulfillment of established plans and as a result of this many enterprises sold goods in a volume much smaller than planned in contractual agreements.

The proportion of enterprises of heavy industry and other branches of industry producing consumer goods is still small. There is insufficient production of cultural-domestic and household goods; improved-quality complex domestic equipment is not being produced.

The bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, basing its actions on the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 15th Kazakhstan CP Congress and the instructions of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, has obliged the party obkom to focus the efforts of the oblast party organization to increase the production of consumer goods, to expand their assortment and to improve their quality. It has been recommended that the directors of the corresponding republic ministries and departments, the party committees and the executive committees of local oblast soviets develop and implement a comprehensive program to further accelerate the production of consumer goods during the current and 12th five-year plans with a consideration of organizing production in all enterprises of industry and the building industry and that they control the fulfillment of this program most strictly.

The bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee discussed the question of measures to increase the building of structures for ferrous metallurgy in the republic and demanded the activation of subdivisions of the ministry of ferrous metallurgy, the ministry of heavy industry and the ministry of installation and special construction work in this most important area, the overall strengthening of planning and labor discipline, the timely introduction of capacities and the initiation of effective socialist competition.

Special attention was focused on the importance of the complete building of the enterprises and of the introduction into operation as soon as possible of residential quarters, schools, preschool facilities and structures involved in protecting the environment.

Among the other questions examined by the bureau of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee were questions concerning the composition and turnover of cadres in agricultural organizations and enterprises of the republic and concerning the competition for the best dramatic piece on the subject "Our Contemporary" which was conducted by the Kazakhstan Ministry of Culture and administration of the Kazakhstan Writers' Union.

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REGIONAL

USSR STATE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN VISITS BAKU

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 22 Mar 83 p 1

/Article by Azer INFORM: "Comrade L. I. Khitrin's Visit to Azerbaijan"/

/Text/ L. I. Khitrin, chairman, the USSR state committee for industrial-technological support for agriculture, visited our republic during the period from 31 March to 2 April.

Comrade Khitrin paid a visit to the specialized base No 1, the experimental pilot-production plant imeni Azizbekov. He also met with directors of enterprises, plants, and units and talked to workers and experts. Tasks performed by the branch employees according to resolutions adopted at the May and November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenums were discussed during the meetings.

L. I. Khitrin visited Agdamskiy, Bardinskiy, and Shekinskiy rayons. He was acquainted with activities of the rayon "Sel'khoztekhnika" associations, talked to machine operators, and wished them success in their work and abundant crops during this third, the middle year of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. During his visit to Shekin rayon comrade L. I. Khitrin saw an interfarm enterprise raising cattle for slaughter, with the cattle population equalling 10,000.

During a meeting with employees of the Azerbaijan SSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika central apparatus comrade L. I. Khitrin commented on successful work of machine operators and discussed specific tasks concerning further improvements within the framework of the agro-industrial complex, such as material-technological support for agriculture, increased engineering services in rural areas, and skilled machine-operator cadre training.

L. I. Khitrin also talked to members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee including comrade K. M. Bagirov, the Committee's first secretary. Key problems concerning implementation of the socioeconomic development plan for the republic's agriculture and development of Goskomsel'khoztekhnika base in Azerbaijan SSR were discussed.

During his visit to the republic L. I. Khitrin was accompanied by comrade G. H. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; I. A. Mamedov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; comrade Sh. A. Rasi-zade, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; and comrade Kh. G. Kerimov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika.

REGIONAL

CONFERENCE VIEWS INCREASED ROLE FOR AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 3 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Increasing the Role of Agricultural Science"]

[Text] On 1 April in Vilnius in the Institute of Economics of Agriculture there was a republic conference in which they considered the question of increasing the role of agricultural science in the course of the implementation of the decisions of the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the Food Program. Participating in the work of the conference were the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, P. Grishkyavichus; chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, A. Barkauskas; chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, R. Songayla; secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, V. Astrauskas; deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, Yu. Bernatavichyus; chief of the agricultural division of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, V. Normantas; minister of agriculture, M. Grigalyunas; minister of the fruit and vegetable industry, V. Eynoris; minister of land reclamation and water management, I. Velichka; chairman of the state committee for production and technical supply for agriculture, A. Zorskas, and other managers.

Also participating in the work of the conference were officials of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the Council of Ministers and ministries and departments of the republic, chiefs of agricultural divisions of raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania, chiefs of agricultural administrations of the rayispolkoms, managers of agricultural scientific research and several other institutes of the Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions of the republic, and a group of managers and specialists of the farms.

The first deputy minister of agriculture, S. Vasilyauskas, gave a speech.

The role of agrarian science in intensifying farming, strengthening the economies of the farms and resolving other crucial problems related to the implementation of the Food Program was discussed by the director of the Institute of Farming, A. Budvitis; the director of the Institute of Economics of Agriculture, B. Poshkus; the director of the Institute of Hydrotechnology and Land

Reclamation, P. Balzaryavichyus; the rector of the Veterinary Academy, R. Karaziya; the sector chief of the Institute of Animal Husbandry, V. Tarvidas; the chief of the agricultural administration of the Varenskiy rayispolkom, Z. Vaychaytis; and the chairman of the Tayka Kolkhoz in Shakyayskiy Rayon, A. Povilaytis.

Also speaking at the conference was the deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and the chairman of the commission of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers on questions of the agro-industrial complex, Yu. Bernatavichyus.

At the conference they summed up the contribution of the republic's scientists to the development of agricultural production and to the transformation of the rural areas of Soviet Lithuania on a socialist basis. It was noted that during the years of Soviet power the republic has created an extensive network of agricultural scientific institutions and trained good personnel. At the present time agricultural problems are being resolved by many scientific institutions, which are developing several dozens of problems of republic and unionwide significance. Agricultural scientific and training institutions have rendered truly invaluable assistance to production workers in all areas.

In the matter of consistently implementing the party agrarian policy, an especially significant stage in the reorganization of agriculture began after the March (1965) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. During this period an immense amount of work has been done to strengthen the economies of the farms and to lay a firm foundation for accelerated development of agricultural production. A system has been worked out for cultivating the land, taking into account the peculiarities of the soil, which contributes to increasing the productivity of field crops; a system of fertilizers for agricultural crops has been created; and comprehensive measures have been conducted for protecting the plants from diseases, pests and weeds. Scientific workers in animal husbandry have done a good deal to improve the breeds of large horned cattle and hogs as well as the technology for feeding and maintaining them. In keeping with recommendations of the Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture, the production facilities of the farms are being expanded, renovated, modernized and mechanized. In the process of reclamation and cultivation of the land, important hydrological and technological research has been done. Comprehensively building up reclaimed land, which was begun on the recommendation of scientists, is now becoming widespread throughout the country. Scientists of the Institute of Economics of Agriculture have developed suggestions regarding questions of specialization and concentration of production and have established the maximum sizes of the farms.

A most characteristic feature of this stage--the development of interfarm ties and processes of agro-industrialization--also involves the large contribution of scientists to the solutions to these important problems. The methods they have developed and used to prepare plans for rayons, which are now being implemented; farms have been enlarged; central and subsidiary settlements and production centers are being formed; the surrounding environment is being improved; internal roads are being constructed; and a number of large

farm and interfarm animal husbandry complexes and other industrial agricultural enterprises have been constructed.

The concrete assistance rendered by scientists to the farmers contributed to no small degree to the solutions to the most complicated problems of production and the achievement of the best results. Thus a number of leading farms are obtaining an average of 40-50 quintals of grain per hectare, receiving an annual milk yield of 4,000-5,000 kilograms per cow and more, and are producing 200 and more quintals of meat per 100 hectares of land. Well thought out scientific recommendations that have been introduced into practice have contributed to a situation where the consequences of years that are unfavorable for agriculture are not so appreciable. Agrarian scientists have done a very large amount of work to prepare and economically substantiate measures for conducting agriculture on an industrial basis and have earmarked the directions for the development of agriculture up to 1990.

New and even more responsible tasks will have to be carried out by agricultural workers of the republic in order to carry out the tasks set by the May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, P. Grishkyavichus at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania emphasized that scientific institutions of the republic must combine their efforts in order to follow the course earmarked by the party for intensification of agricultural production and work out fundamental and applied problems related to the development of the agro-industrial complex, which would contribute to more successful implementation of the Food Program. Taking this into account, as was especially emphasized at the conference, scientists are expected to give recommendations which will provide for even greater and more stable productivity of all field crops and intensification of the production of animal husbandry products.

Radical changes are taking place in the organization of administration of agricultural production and branches related to it. For the first time, the agro-industrial complex has been singled out as an independent object of administration and planning. Since the beginning of this year procurement prices have been raised and unified for all agricultural products, and for farms with the worst conditions, additional increments to prices for animal husbandry products have been established and correspondingly differentiated. All this creates favorable conditions for increasing agricultural production and strengthening the economies of the farms. It is important to take advantage of this state assistance as well as possible. Here too it is necessary to have effective assistance from science. The Institute of Economics of Agriculture is obligated to expand research on improving the structure of the agro-industrial complex and to search out more efficient economic and organizational levers for expanding production. Agricultural scientific institutions should actively contribute to the introduction of progressive methods and forms of labor organization, primarily the collective contract with piece-rate-plus-bonus payment for labor, and they should in all ways expand and strengthen the autonomous financing basis. It is now very important to assist farmers in properly balancing the ratio between spike and pulse crops in the crop rotations and to advise them how to radically improve the care for

the meadows so that this year they will achieve the desired turnabout in the matter of providing grass feeds and so that they will be able to raise a sufficient quantity of other feed crops for mixed silage. The task of scientists of the Institute of Animal Husbandry is to continue research so as to introduce more rapidly new, highly productive breeds of cattle and poultry for industrial farms. The collective of the Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture is obligated to concentrate efforts on developing new, highly mechanized technologies which will make it possible to reduce losses of the crop to a minimum as well as to reduce labor and energy expenditures.

Participants in the conference expressed their confidence that agricultural scientific institutions of the republic, cooperating more closely among themselves, will comprehensively deepen and expand scientific work, achieve comprehensiveness and perfection of this work, and contribute to the introduction into production of all that is newest and most progressive, and also to the further increased efficiency of agricultural production.

11772

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REGIONAL

RESOLUTION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS IN AGRICULTURE

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "A Collective Contract--For Each Farm"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania has adopted a decree concerning increasing organizational work introducing the collective contract on kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the republic.

The decree notes that on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the republic a certain amount of work has been done to improve the organization and payment for labor and to introduce more progressive technologies for agricultural production.

But there are many shortcomings in this work. Such a progressive form of labor organization as the collective contract is being introduced slowly. Managers and specialists of a number of rayons and farms underestimate the significance of this form of organization and payment for labor in the matter of increasing the productive efficiency of the labor activity of agricultural workers and instilling in them a spirit of collectivism and a better combination of the individual interests of each worker and the tasks of the farms, strengthening discipline and increasing responsibility for the utilization of land, technical equipment, fertilizers, feeds and other material and financial resources as well as for the final results of labor. Party, soviet and trade union organizations do not devote enough attention to these questions and are organizing poorly the work for the study and introduction of the experience of farms and production subdivisions that apply the collective contract.

Questions of stepping up organizational work for introducing the collective contract into kolkhoz and sovkhos production, it says in the decree, should become the basis for practical activity on the part of party, soviet and agricultural agencies and trade union and Komsomol organizations of the republic.

The commission of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers for questions of the agro-industrial complex, the ministries of agriculture and the fruit and vegetable industry, the fishing administration, the Alitus and Kapsukas gorkoms, the raykoms of the Communist Party of Lithuania, the rayispolkoms, the

agricultural administrations of the rayispolkoms, managers and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are obligated to increase organizational work for extensive introduction of the collective contract into agricultural production. Each farm must study in depth and advanced practice of the production subdivisions that use the collective contract and explain to agricultural workers the economic essence and advantages of this progressive method. It is also necessary to increase the responsibility of agricultural agencies, managers and specialists of kolkhozes and sovkhoses for the introduction of the collective contract, strict observance of the principles of the formation of labor collectives on a voluntary basis and the creation by them of good production and economic conditions for work on the basis of this progressive form of organization and payment for labor.

The ministries of agriculture and the fruit and vegetable industry and the fishing administration, in conjunction with the corresponding trade union committees, have been instructed to develop in the shortest possible period of time recommendations and normative provisions for improving further development of the collective contract and accelerating the introduction of this progressive form of organization and stimulation of labor on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, taking into account the conditions of the republic and the peculiarities of individual branches of agricultural production.

The editorial staffs of republic and local newspapers and magazines, the State Committee of the Lithuanian SSR for television and radio, and the republic Znaniye society are obliged to publicize in all ways the advanced practice of applying the collective contract in the republic's agriculture and to reveal its significance in the matter of implementing the Food Program and solving the socio-economic problems of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan.

11772

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REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN AGROINDUSTRIAL COMPLEX COMMISSION CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 6 Apr 83 pp 1-2

/Interview with Yuozas Bernatavichyus, deputy chairman, Litva SSR Council of Ministers and chairman, Council of Ministers' presidium commission for matters concerning the agroindustrial complex, by El'ta: "Spring Farm Works are Beginning--We Wish Farmers Much Success in their Effort!"; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ The spring came to the fields and the work is beginning. Soon sowing will begin. Of course, grain crops depend heavily on the quality of sowing. Tell us, please, are farmers well prepared? Did organizations belonging to the agroindustrial complex give their support to farms? What else needs to be done to ensure high-quality crops in all rayons and farms?

/Answer/ This spring we plan to sow 1.1 million hectares worth of crops. This is a big effort. Many practical tasks and those concerning organizing work are performed in the republic during the preparatory period. A sufficient amount of grain seed, perennial herbs, and flax have been already stored. They are all of high quality. Supplies of corn, sunflower, alfalfa, fodder root-crop, and vegetable seeds are also high enough to satisfy the demand. The technology is available on many farms. Everywhere machine-operator cadre is completed and schedules of farm works are discussed and worked out. Thus, we have basically good conditions for sowing high-quality field crops on time. This is due to united efforts and efficient cooperation of all organizational units of the agroindustrial complex.

Efforts of farm directors and experts to secure success have a firm foundation this year. The soil was thoroughly tilled and most of it was fertilized last fall. Winter crops had a good winter and their sowing plan was exceeded. Perennial herbs also held out well through the winter.

To sum up all that has been accomplished, we can say that we have a good chance of fulfilling this year's socialist commitments and increase the gross grain yield to at least 3.2 million tons.

At the same time, it should be said that there are problems that need to be settled within the next few days on many farms. Firstly, winter crops were not properly cared for in some places. They were allowed to soak, and draining

off the excess water is lagging behind. Also, aviation and other means should be better utilized for additional crop feeding. Furthermore, some farms have to prepare for sowing spring grain crops in place of the damaged winter crops.

Every year farms prepare schedules of spring field works ahead of time. This is a very important part of work organization. However, schedules have not been prepared yet in kolkhoz imeni Mel'nikayte and "Pabare" sovkhos of Shal'chininskiy rayon, "Rodina" and "Krasnoye Znamya" kolkhozes of Vil'nyuskiy rayon, "Ashva" sovkhos of Shilutskiye rayon, and on several other farms. This is a serious omission on the part of agricultural rayispolkom administrations and farm directors and experts.

We all know that farms still are not getting enough fertilizers. However, in many cases fertilizers are improperly stored, which causes considerable losses.

Soil-cultivating technology, such as seeding machines are not properly repaired and ready for work on some farms. This problem is particularly severe concerning power tractors. State committee for industrial-technological support for agriculture should take steps to repair tractors immediately and have them ready for work.

Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and appropriate rayon organizations have not utilized technology effectively on all farms. Farms of Kapsukskiye, Ionishkiye, Akmyanskiye, and other rayons should give more attention to preparing wide-swathe machines. There is shortage of machine operators in Kupishkiye, Radvilishkiye, Pakruoyskiye, and Zarasayskiye rayons. This is a significant problem, which should be corrected immediately. Machine operators from other sections of production, students of technological higher schools on practice, and directors of city industrial enterprises should offer their assistance in this matter.

/Question/ We had good results in flax and sugar-beet cultivation. However, growing these technological crops poses problems on some farms. It so happens that potato crops are also consistently low in the same rayons and farms. What is being done to help those farms catch up?

/Answer/ Last year the average crop equalled 4.7 quintals of flax fiber, 3.6 quintals of flax seeds, and 216 quintals of sugar beets per hectare and the plan of sales of those products to the state and socialist commitments has been exceeded. However, 98 beet-producing and 42 flax-producing farms did not fulfill plans of the sale of their products to the state. Directors of those farms and experts employed there should take steps to prevent such a situation from happening this year. There is a good basis for a high yield of technological crops in the republic this year. Last year the soil was tilled, and most of it was fertilized with both natural and mineral fertilizers and treated with herbicides. All sugar-beet seeds are available, and farms should collect them as soon as possible. It is necessary to cultivate sugar beets and flax everywhere strictly adhering to the rules of agrotechnology. This particularly concerns cases when they are grown for the purposes of industrial technology. This year such areas of flax and sugar beets are much larger--they equal up to 15,000 hectares.

Flax cultivators should be reminded that end results are a consequence of harvesting and processing crops in addition to growing them. As we all know, there are not enough flax drying stations. Additional stations should be built as soon as possible.

How could potato cultivation be improved? It seems that experts know already what needs to be done. There are really no reasons for not achieving better results. All that is needed is stricter requirements for those lagging behind. Besides specialized farms that are required to grow specific amounts of marketable potatoes and other vegetables, all farms without exception should grow the amount of crops big enough to satisfy their needs.

/Question/ Increased production of grass fodders is one of the most important tasks. Attention of farmers is concentrated on this task. Is there a basis for hope that there will be a significant change in the situation this year?

/Answer/ We urgently need to strengthen fodder production base since fodder shortage impedes further development of cattle-raising. To remedy the situation this year it is necessary to prepare at least 20 quintals of all kinds of fodder for hogs and 14 quintals of coarse and rich fodder for meat cattle per capita. It is disturbing that this very important task still is not getting enough attention. For example, last year even less fodder was prepared than in previous years in some rayons, even though conditions were more favorable. The situation is particularly disappointing concerning coarse and rich fodder.

We need to make an effort at increasing grass fodder production. At least one-half of meat cattle's ration should contain that fodder. We have enough grass areas. Making sure that they are fertilized and restored is our current task. We should also make sure that the most valuable herbage is formed and pastures are efficiently utilized. We should grow three-fourths of grass crops on meadows. Using pastures with care should ensure high milk herd productivity. Special work units should be created on farms to take care of meadows. Technology for haylage and grass fodder production should be prepared ahead of time. It is necessary to make improvements of old meadows and pastures even more so than last year.

We will not achieve a breakthrough in fodder production if we do not take care of protein-rich fodder crops. Positive changes are taking place in this area. We have a chance now to increase the area of leguminous plants. They should comprise at least 15 percent of all the grain crop area. However, there are farms where there are plans to give them less space. This unfortunate situation is present on farms of Vil'nyusskiy, Trakayskiy, Skuodasskiy, Kretingskiy, Kel'meskiy, Tel'shyayskiy, Lazdiyskiy, and Ukmergskiy rayons. It is imperative that steps be taken to increase the leguminous plants area in those rayons, especially, since there is a sufficient quantity of seeds to do so. It is necessary to get better results in clover cultivation. It would seem that farmers should not have to be encouraged to grow alfalfa. However, farms of Kaunasskiy, Ionavskiy, and several other rayons plan an insufficient space for their crops, even though they have suitable fields available. Plans should be corrected and the capacity for increasing alfalfa crops should be utilized.

While planning spring sowing we should double-check that enough root-crops, carrots, and potatoes will be cultivated for combined silage. It is important to prepare much more of this very valuable fodder than in previous years. This concerns every farm.

/Question/ The collective contract should play a positive role in increasing cattle-raising production and improving end results. How should this positive form of work organization be introduced, and what should be its scope?

/Answer/ There is no doubt that application of a collective contract in agriculture, as well as in other branches, allows for considerable improvements in the use of farm resources for increasing production. This progressive principle of linking work organization to payments by the piece that are contingent on results should be introduced on a wide scale at the outset of spring field work. This will help farmers work faster and more efficiently, strengthen work discipline, and raise their awareness and sense of responsibility.

However, production conditions on farms should be examined before deciding to introduce to the branch brigades, detachments, and units that would have an agreement with the kolkhoz or the sovkhoz to grow flax, potatoes, vegetables, and other products on a separate area, and produce a specified amount of fodder crops, such as hay, haylage, silage, and grass flour. On farms that lack experience and have production conditions that do not allow to introduce collective contract at this time, detachments and units should be organized for specific work periods only. Of course, wherever the collective contract has been introduced, it is necessary to create all necessary material-technological conditions for brigades, detachments, and units and establish payments for completed production according to criteria that were agreed upon ahead of time. This concerns also additional payments and bonuses.

Furthermore, the collective working on the basis of collective contract should attempt to decrease material and labor waste in production process. However, this will be possible only when full self-financing is introduced, i.e. correct targets and limits on material financial, and labor resources are set for production subsections. Thus, the collective contract effectiveness will depend on the degree to which farmers care about end results, and every farmer's individual input is evaluated.

It is said that a spring day feeds the whole year. Thus, during the short time that we still have before sowing starts we should do much more to organize the spring start well. It is very important to make sure that sowing does not start too late and that the soil does not dry out. It is important to apply the selective sowing method during the first few days. This year, as every year, special attention should be given to making soil even and picking up all rocks. In one word, quality should be in the center of our attention on all farms. We do not doubt that the republic's farmers and collectives of organizations serving agriculture will respond to resolutions of the May and November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and work with enthusiasm to achieve best results. From the bottom of our hearts we wish our farmers good cheer and great success in their work.

REGIONAL

PROGRESS OF RECENTLY ORGANIZED RAPO OUTLINED

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Mar 83 p 1

/Article by Mnk. Pruger: "RAPO /Rayon Agro-Industrial Association/--Our Main Manager; a Description of the Galabin RAPO Activities"

/Text/ The rayon agro-industrial association council was created at the third session of the Ganabin Rayon Council of People's Representatives. A total of 33 persons became the RAPO council's members. The council will be headed by M. Chintashev, rayispolkom first deputy chairman and the chief of the rayon agricultural production administration.

Three months passed since the day the RAPO was created.

The agro-industrial association is a new organization. It has great responsibilities. Even before he became the council's chairman, Matkarim Chintashev gave much thought to the wide range of activities defined by the May and the November 1982 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Previously, the administration worked mainly according to directives. However, the agro-industrial organization has to coordinate activities of kolkhozes and sovkhoses with activities of other agricultural organizations. In addition, it has to manage those organizations, distribute capital input, form appropriate funds, and create the most favorable conditions for continued intensive development of the whole agro-industrial complex of the rayon.

Several weeks passed. In the rayon everybody saw that not one question was decided without the RAPO. It was also obvious that each matter was settled promptly, in a businesslike manner, and more importantly, with a great deal of know-how.

The Tashkent party obkom understood very well how complicated are new relationships forming within the RAPO as well as new work forms and methods developing under new conditions. The party obkom gave much consideration to these issues. Directors of associations and party activists of the rayon unit met a few times and exchanged their views and the initial experience. Proposals were adopted after they were discussed together. Then they were implanted in the RAPO practice. All kinds of structural novelties were developed. For example, the RAPO council is supposed to meet once a month and discuss matters concerning

the plan. The question arises, who should deal with daily issues and how. The question was resolved by creating the task presidium. The presidium members include M. Chintashev the RAPO council chairman; and deputy chairmen: L. Lim, a Sel'khoztekhnika department director; A. Shermatov, deputy director, agriculture administration for cattle-raising; B. Turgunov, director, the irrigation system administration; and A. Atadzhanov, the administration's first agronomist.

Another form of management, a task team, was also created. Its members include several leading employees and experts working in various branches of the agro-industrial complex. The team is supposed to study problems, work out solutions, and implement them. There are task teams working on such matters as ensuring the needed technology and material-technological supplies, plant protection, capital construction, and preparation of irrigation and land reclamation works.

Whenever the task presidium comes to a decision, such a decision is thoroughly substantiated. It is based on expert opinions and has financial support as well since the decision is implemented by those in positions of authority concerning financial matters.

A special routine has been introduced in the rayon: if a task team comes to a kolkhoz or a sovkhoz and finds problems there, it has no right to leave until the problems are corrected.

From the very beginning of its existence the RAPO apparatus studied carefully problems causing some farms to lag behind. In particular, much attention was given to such large farms as sovkhoz imeni Pyatiletiye Uzbekskoy SSR /Five Years of the Uzbek SSR/ and "Moskva" kolkhoz. During the last few years the sovkhoz experienced many defeats. "Moskva" kolkhoz also had problems: the main culture crops were decreasing. Experts determined that one of the main causes of problems experienced in both the sovkhoz and the kolkhoz was the lack of crop rotation.

At the RAPO council meeting the farms experiencing problems were thoroughly discussed. The remedies included putting in charge of the sovkhoz imeni Pyatiletiye Uzbetskoy SSR Rustam Karimov, chairman of Galabin rayispolkom. He is an energetic man and a great organizer. A number of department heads and brigade leaders were also replaced. The farm was given every chance to correct its problems, and especially to reintroduce crop rotation in the shortest possible time. Several organizational and agricultural measures were taken in "Moskva" kolkhoz as well. Several other farms also underwent changes of farm directors, main experts, and brigade leaders. The RAPO was given the duty of preparing proposals concerning the cadre.

Today everybody's attention is concentrated on preparations for cotton sowing. According to the plan, the sowing should take 50-55 working hours. Everybody is ready to undertake this task.

At a recent plenum of the Tashkent party obkom the Galabin rayon was severely criticized for problems in cattle-raising.

Within the framework of measures planned in the Galabin rayon an important role is given to the hog-raising industrial complex "Sergeli." Intensive hog feeding takes place there. Measures directed at substantial increases in hog production and milk procurement are prepared and implemented there. The measures include increases in milk herd population in several farms and exchange of low-producing animals. The most significant accomplishments include specialized fodder production for all farms, regular crop rotation, widespread use of combined, repeated, and intermediate sowing, and better incentives for fodder procurement.

Increased profitability of agriculture and cattle raising is one of the main tasks. However, the implementation of this task brought to the surface a controversy between kolkhozes and sovkhoses on one hand and organizations serving them on the other. At the beginning of the third year of the current five-year plan all kolkhozes and sovkhoses formulated the task of accomplishing both increased production of high-quality goods and decreased production waste. In other words, the task is that of accomplishing higher profitability. However, some partners in agro-industrial association have other goals. Selkhoztekhnika, Selkhozkhimya, and other supporting organizations try to get as much money as possible from kolkhozes and sovkhoses they are supposed to serve.

Farm directors and party and council activists agree that it is necessary to make organizations serving agriculture directly dependent on the quantity and quality of goods produced by kolkhozes and sovkhoses.

There are also problems that have not been settled yet. The RAPO's are staffed with the same number of people in all rayons, even though in some rayons the number of farms and organizations included in the agro-industrial organization is twice as high than in other rayons. Wages are another problem. Agricultural administration departments need to employ a first specialist in addition to a director since the scope of activities has grown considerably.

Thus, there are still many problems. Much work is needed to implement the collective contract, self-financing, and rational use of land, material and labor resources, and capital input. What's the most important is the initial attempts are promising.

9959

CSO: 1830/227

REGIONAL

MVD CHIEF ON MOLDAVIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by N. Bradulov, MSSR minister of internal affairs: "The Concern of All and Everyone"]

[Text] Communist morality forms the basis of the unchanging position of the Soviet individual, who unites in himself such noteworthy qualities as high civic spirit, nobility of soul and moral purity. The personality is formed namely on this basis; its labor and political activity and a conscientious attitude toward public duty are developed where unity of word and deed become the everyday norm of behavior. And it is namely such an attitude toward one's civic duty that distinguishes today the majority of Soviet people; this is shown with new convincing force among the labor collectives of our republic as everywhere else in the country by the broad support of the initiatives of the Muscovites under the slogan "Honor and glory on the basis of labor!"

The participants of the new patriotic movement see as their task raising efficiency of production and quality of work, strengthening discipline, intensifying the struggle against mismanagement, waste and theft and achieving exemplary order in production and in socialist everyday life. Their guide to action is to be found in the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the Central Committee of our party. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu.V. Andropov pointed out from its tribune: "It is necessary to strengthen responsibility for observance of statewide and nationwide interests. The struggle against any violations of party, state and labor discipline ought to be conducted more decisively."

But unfortunately we also have people who strive to give as little as possible, to grab as much as possible from the state and to get around the law. Even leading collectives at times hide behind general successful indicators serious unfinished items of work, while loafers, slipshod workers and lovers of spirits attempt to stay behind the backs of conscientious workers. This is why the demand of the party for the creation of an atmosphere of a high level of organization and for raising the accountability of each person for the entrusted task presupposes first of all universal high demands on oneself and one's comrades and the active participation of each and all in the creation, development and strengthening of an atmosphere of intolerance toward antisocial manifestations in any form.

This is why there still have not been removed from the agenda questions of the moral education of workers, which occupies an important place in the complex system of the party's ideological work aimed at the all-round development of the personality and the development in everyone of a conscientious and mature attitude toward one's public duty.

The establishment of norms and principles of communist morality is impossible without a constant and determined struggle against antisocial manifestations, spiritual poverty and its inevitable concomitants--drunkenness, hooliganism and violations of labor discipline. Each such case should be looked upon as a special case.

Drunkenness evokes special concern. It inflicts very great material and moral damage. Due to the fault of persons abusing alcohol traumas, violations of discipline and absenteeism occur in production. In this regard, it would be fitting to name Kishinev Plant of Food Equipment, Moldavgidromash Association and several other industrial enterprises.

No less damage is done by drunkenness in agriculture, especially in the busy season. This includes not appearing at work, breaking of equipment and thefts of public property.

And how dangerous a drunken person can be at the wheel!

Statistics show that alcohol is present in practically every second crime.

But even if you were to turn a minute away from the facts and attempt to see drunkenness and alcoholism without its concomitant antisocial and illegal acts and misbehavior, they still could in no way be justified. The fact is that a person abusing spirits, whether he wants to or not, is slowly but surely killing himself, degrades himself spiritually and physically, loses labor skills and vocational qualifications and the ability to perform his social role.

In any case, when we speak of a predisposition to inebriation, not to mention drunkenness, it is necessary to be prepared in time with all available means to stop such a person, to stop him from falling and to instill a normal human way of life.

Internal-affairs organs receive many letters and appeals of citizens with the request to adopt administrative measures with respect to persons who cast gloom with their behavior on the lives of those around them. The letters of wives and children are especially moving. Here is what one says that came from Suklen in Slobodzeyskiy Rayon: "My husband for a long time has been abusing alcoholic drinks. He was sent for therapy. But, on returning from the dispensary he again began to drink, to brawl and to debauch himself. The drunkard chases me and the children from the house. We are frequently forced to spend the night in a damp barn, for which reason my daughter got sick. We beg that measures be taken." And her request was granted--her husband was again sent for forced treatment for alcoholism.

We know that law-enforcement institutions, including internal-affairs organs, have the main responsibility for the state of law and order and further strengthening of socialist legality and liquidation of crime. And in this regard, they together with other state organs and the public have already accomplished a great deal. But still more must be done. Today they are aiming to decisively and unremittingly disclose and prosecute thefts of socialist property, bribery, waste and speculation, drunkenness, hooliganism, parasitism and any violations of legality.

A big danger is also presented by concealed and at first glance not always noticeable manifestations of immorality such as indifference, dependence, cynicism, immoral acts in the family and in everyday life where violations of socialist ethics are observed most frequently. City and rayon internal-affairs departments of the republic have been given strict instructions to study completely and exhaustively the petitions of citizens and to react in a timely way to law violations and to adopt measures with respect to those who are guilty of them and to expand the role and responsibility of precinct inspectors and other services of the militia in the struggle against antisocial manifestations and to bolster coordinated operations with people's public-order squads in safeguarding law and order in cities and villages.

Much attention is being given everywhere to prevention of drunkenness and to the timely detection, registry and treatment of alcoholics. In addition to therapeutic-labor preventoriums existing under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where they are sent obligatorily, large enterprises and organizations have established narcological [sic] divisions where together with treatment measures are carried out of educational and social action of collectives.

In the struggle against this evil, an increasingly significant role is played by public stations for preservation of order, making it possible to utilize in a most rational way the forces of the public and the militia for successful work with the population at the place of residence. Once, for example, in Leninskiy Village of Floreshtskiy Rayon many law violations were allowed to occur. The council of the public station created here together with personnel of the militia carefully studied the reasons and conditions contributing to this and outlined a concrete plan for their elimination. In each case of violation of anti-alcohol legislation, the guilty persons were summoned to a meeting of the council where their actions were strictly examined. In the village, an active struggle was waged with violations of rules of trade in wine and vodka items. The results were not slow in coming. The number of law violations due to drunkenness was markedly reduced.

Probably if things had been arranged in Suklen, requests similar to the one mentioned would not have been forthcoming. There would have been no need for this if the public organizations of PMK [Mobile Motorized Column]-11, where the writer's husband worked and his comrades at work, knowing of his predilection for the shot glass, had helped him to finally overcome the harmful habit and to return to a full valued life. Here the precinct militia failed to rise to the occasion.

Unfortunately, such a happening is far from isolated. Thus, of the total number of materials sent by internal-affairs organs to the Kishinev

Moldavgidromash Association and the food-equipment plant for adoption of measures of disciplinary and social action with respect to drunkards have examined only half of them and the Kishinev Furniture Factory No 1 only one-quarter.

And sometimes the following happens. A fitter at SU [Construction Administration]-47 of Sel'stroymekhanizatsiya-1 Trust, in an advanced stage of intoxication, was brought to a medical sobering station, and his management was informed of this. Soon a reply was received to the effect that the drunkard had been deprived of all forms of bonus payments. In point of fact, the incident was not evaluated by the collective. The fitter received his bonuses like everyone else. Is it surprising that after this 19 other workers of the same construction administration visited the medical sobering station?

This serves as proof of the fact that at a number of labor collectives and inhabited places the struggle has abated against drunkenness and violations of labor discipline and public order and that everyday control and constant educational work with people at best is replaced by one-time measures carried out for the record and no due demand is made on heads and officials for education and labor discipline.

The collective enjoys broad powers, and its educational functions are fixed constitutionally. They include the right to deprive one of bonuses, changing the time of a vacation or obtaining of housing and much else up to the right to demand dismissal from work. The only thing necessary is that these powers be properly and fully used.

Numerous proposals of workers are quite logical, say, to the effect that questions of firing of drunkards and unauthorized absentees and author violators of labor discipline should be brought up for discussion at worker meetings and not resolved solely in offices of heads of enterprises and organizations. A determinative rating of an offense given by comrades at work is more effective and serves as a serious lesson for the future. At the same time, there will surely be closed such a loophole as dismissal allegedly "on one's own request" to which tender-hearted or more precisely unprincipled heads, not wishing to "spoil the record" for known drunkards, truants, drifters and petty hooligans, resort.

For strengthening of law and order, a high level of discipline is required everywhere and in all things. And one should try to achieve it of course not with loud words or general appeals, but with work, with painstaking, purposeful organizational and educational work utilizing, as has been repeatedly emphasized in state documents, all the resources of public opinion, the press, radio and television and existing legislation, which incidentally has been recently significantly expanded. Taking into consideration the fact that persons not working anywhere and leading an antisocial, parasitic way of life, commit most of the thefts and other sordid crimes as well as requests of workers for intensifying the struggle against such people, a law was recently adopted which made it possible to more differentiatedly approach determination of the punishment of parasites. Taking into consideration public opinion and the tasks of further strengthening socialist legality and law and order in

in our republic, increased accountability has been established for thefts committed through entering of dwellings and for other crimes.

Our socialist society, its state and independent institutions possess all the means to create in every collective and in every city and village conditions that would exclude even the slightest violations of socialist legality, public order and norms of socialist living. The duty of each and all is to assist in this in every possible way.

7697

CSO: 1800/990

REGIONAL

TRADITIONAL CENTRAL ASIAN CUSTOM USED TO SUPPORT SOVIET GOALS

Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 8 Feb 83) pp 24-26

[Article by Kh. Ismailov: "The Khashar and Its Role in the Labor and International Education of the Masses"]

[Text] In its multifaceted work for labor, patriotic, international and moral education of the masses, the Communist Party extensively and effectively utilizes a varied arsenal of effective means, including the best national customs and rituals, which are filled in the Soviet age with new socialist content.

Like all the peoples of our country, the Uzbek people have also developed many remarkable traditions during their many centuries of history, among which an eminent position is occupied by customs directly related to labor processes, and above all the khashar, voluntary mutual assistance in labor.

Generally speaking, such a custom as mutual assistance among people in labor-intensive jobs is typical not only of the Uzbeks, but also of other peoples, but it has been manifested and is manifested in various forms, appearing in numerous variants which have their own specific features. Study shows that in the past the Uzbeks used the khashar, as a rule, for performing labor-intensive jobs--agricultural, irrigation, construction and so forth.

Thus during the process of agricultural work khashars were arranged when fertilizers were applied to the fields, during plowing, planting agricultural crops, hilling the planted areas, harvesting the crops, threshing, preparing feeds for domestic animals (pichan khashar) and so forth.

The most widespread khashar was for the construction of residential buildings, business and auxiliary premises and public buildings. According to the custom, the walls were to be raised in one day. Therefore when constructing residential and other buildings the khashar met three times: the "devor khashar," "tom khashar" and "suvok khashar."¹

In addition to mass collective work projects there were, as it were, small khashars in which family members, neighbors, relatives and close friends participated. As a rule, these khashars lasted only a couple of hours. These

were for carrying out the following jobs: building walls around a burial mound or plots, plastering the walls of the house, repairing housing, and so forth.

It should be noted that in the prerevolutionary period the exploiting classes tried in all ways to use the national custom of the khashar for their own selfish purposes. For example, the peasants were called to gether regularly to do field work on the khan's private land, on feudal landowners' farms; and for representatives of the clergy, and frequently the peasants had to work with their own animals.

The rich landowners, officials and representatives of the clergy frequently tried to conduct all of the labor-intensive work on their farms with free exploitation of the working peasantry. For example, on plowing days the peasantry were called out onto the fields by the large landowners where they worked with their own equipment and livestock from sunrise until sunset. Thus corvee was practiced in the guise of a khashar in the feudal society.² "On many peasant farms of the Uzbeks, especially prosperous ones," wrote P. Alekseyenkov, "there were frequently 'khashars' (mutual assistance), remnants of communal-neighborly relations that were transformed into a means of exploitation and covered by the norms of customary neighborly rights. The rich peasants invite their neighbors to help with the harvest, and they do not pay for the work but simply provide refreshments."³

The khashar was practiced in irrigation work as well--constructing embankments, dams and canals, annually cleaning irrigation networks and structures, fighting against periodic floods and so forth. This work was done through the collective labor of many people, and they were obligated to do it under the policy of state feudal obligations.⁴

Thus the remarkable custom of mutual labor assistance that was formed among the masses of people was transformed into a means of exploitation of the workers by the feudal state, the secular and clerical feudal lords, and the rich landowners which, incidentally, is also typical of many other national traditions in prerevolutionary times.

During the years of Soviet power the popular custom of the khashar assumed new, socialist content and now completely serves the interests of the Soviet society, of our people. It has become an expression of collectivism, fraternal solidarity and socialist mutual assistance of the Soviet people. The extensive application of the methods of the khashar in constructing housing and cultural-domestic facilities, creating an irrigation network and performing other labor-intensive work is a remarkable phenomenon that has great significance in the labor, patriotic and international education of the masses of people, especially the younger generation.

A clear example of this is the nationwide campaign for "more water" which was begun in prewar years. In order to improve the water supply of Vuadil'skiy and Ferganskiy rayons, in the beginning of 1939 the kolkhoz workers used the khashar method to construct the Laganskiy canal. Within 17 days 14,000

people laid a canal that was 32.6 kilometers long, which made it possible to sharply improve the water supply for these rayons and to irrigate 2,500 hectares of new land. This water arterial went into operation during the days when the 23rd party congress was taking place and the people called it the "Canal imeni XVIII s'yezd partii." In the spring of 1939 alone the method of construction by the people was used to create 46 large irrigation structures and 450 kilometers of new canals in the republic.

Then construction was started on the Large Fergana Canal, which was intended for irrigation and improvement of the water supply for 24 rayons in Fergana and Andizhan oblasts of the Uzbek SSR and Leninabad Oblast of the Tajik SSR. The construction was started on 1 August 1939 and completed on 15 September, with the participation of 100,000 kolkhoz workers and city dwellers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. During 45 days they laid a canal with a length of 270 kilometers and with 46 large and 245 small water structures.

In February-March of 1940, 85,000 kolkhoz workers of Fergana and Leninabad oblasts constructed the North Fergana Canal; 48,000 kolkhoz workers of Kuvinskiy, Tashlakskiy, Ferganskiy and Margilanskiy rayons in Fergana Oblast laid the Southern Fergana Canal.⁵

The Large Fergana Canal was a truly international construction project. Working along with the Uzbeks and Tajiks there were Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Georgians, Karakalpaks, Uygurs, Russians, Turkmens, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Tatars, Koreans and many others. Their joint labor reinforced even more the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country.

The remarkable initiative and experience of the Fergana workers was embraced by workers of other oblasts of Uzbekistan in the construction of canals, roads, electric power stations and so forth. Workers of other republics of the union were also included in this movement.

The construction of the Large Fergana Canal evoked an immense amount of interest abroad as well. Even the bourgeois press had to rate it highly. Thus in the English magazine WORLD NEWS AND VIEWS there was an article which said: "The Fergana Canal is the result of the initiative of the kolkhoz workers of one of the previously more backward outskirts of Tsarist Russia. The peasants are not Europeans, but sons of Asia, sons of the people, who even 20 years ago groaned under the yoke of the landowners, the Russian colonizers and their own ignorance."⁶

In the history of the further development of the popular custom of the khashar, a special place is occupied by the restoration of Tashkent after the earthquake of 1966. People from all corners of our boundless country, of all nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union, participated in the construction of the new Tashkent. The construction of the new Tashkent was a clear expression of internationalism, the fraternal solidarity of the Soviet people, and became a real school of labor heroism, convincing evidence of the productive force of the truly national custom of the khashar.

This is also shown by the glorious epic of the assimilation of the Golodnaya and Dzhizakskaya, the Karshinskaya and Surkhan-Sherabadskaya steppes, the land of Central Fergana and so forth. Representatives of 53 nationalities participated in the assimilation of the Karshinskaya steppe alone, and in the general attack on the Golodnaya steppe there were representatives of more than 90 nationalities and nations of the country.

Now in the cities and villages of the republic, as throughout the country, through the efforts of the broad public large work projects are being carried out for building up residential areas and roads, planting greenery along the streets and in the parks, constructing schools, clubs and other cultural and educational and municipal service facilities, sports facilities, and so forth. For example, on the Sovkhoz imeni Kirov in Kirovskiy Rayon in Fergana Oblast the khashar method was used to create a whole complex of sports facilities costing 114,000 rubles.

Communist Saturdays have become truly nationwide khashars. While in 1972 5 million people in our republic participated in the Saturday devoted to the 50th anniversary of the USSR, and in 1979--more than 7 million, in the all-union khashar devoted to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, more than 9 million people participated in Uzbekistan.

The cotton growing campaigns are also assuming the nature of nationwide mutual labor assistance. Thus because of the extensive participation not only of the rural, but also of the urban population, especially student youth, in 1982, in spite of the most difficult weather conditions, for the third year in a row more than 6 million tons of "white gold" were harvested.

Workers of the republic are participating actively in the construction of the BAM and in the advancement of the economy of the nonchernozem zone, in the laying of the gigantic Urengoy-Uzhgorod gas line and in many other unionwide construction projects, setting examples of creative, self-sacrificing labor.

Thus the glorious labor traditions of the Soviet people, including the khashar, exert an immense educational influence on the Soviet people, instilling in them a new, highly conscientious and communist attitude toward labor, a feeling of collectivism, fervent patriotism and internationalism, multiplying the forces in the struggle for the common cause--the victory of communism.

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11772

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REGIONAL

WORK OF LENINGRAD PROCURACY WITH LETTERS OF COMPLAINT DETAILED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 83 p 4

[A.I. Seliverstov, justice counselor, senior assistant to public prosecutor of Leningrad for examination of letters of citizens, and V.I. Borzova, justice counselor, senior assistant to public prosecutor of Leningrad Oblast for monitoring of fulfillment, interviewed by correspondent I. Lisochkin: "A Person Came to the Public Prosecutor"]

[Text] Supervision by the public prosecutor is one of the most important guarantees of strict observance of laws and protection of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, their life, health, property, honor and dignity. The purpose of the procuracy is always to stand on guard for justice.

By fulfilling the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures for Further Improving Work with Letters and Proposals of Workers in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress," law-enforcement organs improve their work, establish new ties with citizens and organizations, arrange reception time to avoid losses of worktime and at the same time create conveniences for workers.

Our correspondent I. Lisochkin discusses this with A.I. Seliverstov, justice counselor and senior assistant to public prosecutor of Leningrad for examination of letters of citizens, and V.I. Borzova, justice counselor and senior assistant to the public prosecutor of Leningrad Oblast for monitoring of fulfillment.

[Question] How many citizens appeal to the public prosecutor?

[Seliverstov] On the average, we examine per year slightly less than 24,000 appeals of workers. This is a fairly stable figure.

[Borzova] In the oblast, about 15,000 citizens appeal to procuracy organs in the course of a year.

[Question] Would it be possible to briefly describe and analyze the makeup of the procuracy's mail and the various complaints?

[Seliverstov] Putting it very briefly, most frequently we encounter complaints concerning violations of labor legislation and on housing questions. Numerically, second place is occupied by petitions relating to investigations and inquests. Third place is occupied by complaints concerning judgments and decisions of courts concerning civil cases.

[Borzova] As for us, the character of materials received from citizens is the same. With one exception. We examine many complaints relating to horticultural activity.

[Question] LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA frequently sends letters of complaint to the procuracy connected with law violations. You evidently get similar mail from other newspapers, journals and different organizations?

[Seliverstov] Yes, of course. This attests to the fact that editorial boards of newspapers and other organization enjoy a lot of prestige. Although, of course, in those cases where one is dealing with violations of the law and of rights of citizens, it is very difficult to have anything done without the intercession of law-enforcement organs. Their sacred duty is dealing with such occurrences.

[Borzova] I would like to point out that forwarding of letters naturally extends the time of working with them. For this reason, it is very important for each person to select the proper address.

[Question] In essence, can any appeal to the procuracy be examined there?

[Seliverstov] No. Not just any. We in turn are obliged to send every fourth letter to other organizations. These letters do not deal with any violations of the law. They contain, for example, requests for improvement of housing conditions, on granting of pensions. These are out of our domain. Both the one and the other are the prerogative of soviet organs.

[Borzova] There is even rather significant forwarding of letters between the city and oblast procuracies because sometimes citizens address themselves, as is said, "not to the proper office." For some reason or other, some people are convinced that the city procuracy is "higher" than the oblast procuracy or the other way around. I would like to point out that the public prosecutor of Leningard Oblast is subordinate only to the USSR General Public Prosecutor.

[Question] But every one of our citizens has the right to turn to any organization or department....

[Seliverstov] Absolutely. And in the final analysis, every letter or petition finally ends up where it should. But forwarding takes time, and the reply is correspondingly delayed.

[Borzova] Sometimes it is necessary to take steps, as they say, while the tracks are still fresh.

[Question] Are complaints always valid?

[Seliverstov] Unfortunately, no. We sometimes have to deal with false complaints and the desire to secure some benefits and advantages with the aid of emotions. Of course, such petitioners are rebuffed. Letters of that kind can only do harm because checking them requires the expenditure of much effort and time.

[Borzova] Of course, there are cases where people are under a misapprehension and mistakingly believe that the law is on their side. In such cases, time is not spared to explain the errors and misapprehensions.

[Question] And if a complaint is valid and just?

[Seliverstov] This inevitably calls for adoption of necessary, fully realistic measures to eliminate the violation of the law. These vary. The public prosecutor may submit a protest or a presentation....

[Borzova] ...To bring the guilty to account, to caution persons in authority on the inadmissibility of a violation of the law. The possibilities of law-enforcement organs in this sense are quite broad.

[Question] There are people who prefer to turn to organs of the procuracy personally....

[Seliverstov] That is their right. And for a personal appeal, necessary conditions also exist. The apparatus of the city's procuracy has reception hours for citizens from 9:30 to 20 hours and on Saturdays and Sundays from 10 to 18 hours. At rayon procuracies, they are open on working days from 9:30 to 18:30 and without fail on one working day to a week 20 hours. Furthermore, rayon public prosecutors personally receive citizens weekly from 17 to 19 hours.

[Borzova] In our case, all citizens arriving from rayons in the oblast are received from 10 hours to 18:30 hours. The public prosecutor receives four times a week and his deputies on a daily basis heads of departments and senior assistants of the public prosecutor. At the present time reception on Mondays has been extended to 21 hours. An additional reception has been organized on each first Saturday of the month from 10 to 14 hours. In the oblast's rayons, public prosecutors also receive citizens both on regular days and on days off in the evenings. The hours of these receptions are set in agreement with local party and soviet organs.

7697

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REGIONAL

RECENT TURKMEN, UZBEK LITERATURES SURVEYED

Ashkhabad IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK TURKMENSKOY SSR. SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 4, 1982 pp 86-90

[Article by O. Berdyklycheva: "The Moral Aspect of Heroes in Novels of the 1970's" (From examples of Turkmen and Uzbek literatures)]

[Text] The principal task of Soviet literature is to facilitate the moulding of a harmoniously developed personality with a high degree of consciousness, a clear-cut concept of communist morality, an active commitment to vital issues, a conscientious attitude towards duty, and a harmony between word and deed. It was noted at the 26th Congress that "human relations at work and in everyday life, and the complex inner life of people and their place on our turbulent planet constitute an inexhaustible area for artistic search. It is important, of course, to try to have current themes not cover up grey and artistically impoverished things, and not to have heroes of works locked in a circle of petty matters, but have them live a life with concern for their country, filled with strenuous work, and a persistent struggle for the triumph of justice and good." [2,p. 7]

The Turkmen prose writer, T. Dzhumagel'dyev, in his novel, "Zemlya pomnit vsyo" [The Earth Remembers Everything] tries to interpret, from the point of view of a citizen activist, such moral concepts as instilling thrift, diligence and aspirations for the future, and touching upon an important problem: How to preserve and develop a deep respect by people toward the earth in our day and age. It is through their relationship to the earth by which the moral and spiritual traits of the novel's heroes should be judged. In a race for high productivity, people have become accustomed to the idea that the earth is inexhaustible. And this leads to undervaluing qualities such as respect for the earth. What occurs is a slow, destructive process of moral impoverishment and an exhaustion of man's moral richness. This is what the novel's main hero, Gurt-aga, directs his attention to, because he has sustained his love for the earth during his entire life. For him, the earth is not simply a means of production, but something more significant: A unique "moral source."

Full of feelings of responsibility for future harvests, honest and straight, not tolerating falsehoods or lies, Gurt-aga decisively fights against the rapacious use of the earth, refuses to move to a virgin plot and remains with

the brigade to conduct melioration work. In a conversation with a young poet, Bayram Mamedov, Gurt-aga notes with sadness and regret that people have but one wish, to eat plentifully. "Now, they do not grieve for bread Now, they have another worry, what to do with their money No one wants to look at a [koshma], they want rugs! Very well, they bought rugs. What then? Well, then give them an automobile! For any price!... It is bad when people go after things this way" [2, p. 125].

Gurt is true to his human principles; he is a man who knows how to come out ahead in a fight with his enemies. Many memories dear to Gurt are tied to the uprooted, dried-up mulberry tree, his mother's and father's lives, and his brother, Omar, who died at the front. The uprooted mulberry tree takes on a symbolic meaning in the novel, serving as the source of conflict between Gurt and the deputy chairman of the kolkhoz, Mashat. This conflict is both moral and social, the resolution of which will affect the moral climate in the kolkhoz and the fate of the kolkhoz workers. Gurt's position is strengthened by his concern for the earth. The novel develops the theme of concern for people and for the earth. And victory goes to Gurt, who realizes his civic responsibility for the collective good, his responsibility to the people, for using time well, and to himself.

The novel traces the attitude of people to their environment. The dried-up giant mulberry tree at the edge of the village serves as a daily reproach to people for their carelessness and lack of concern for the earth. Next to the tree is a previously abundant field, now overgrown with [chair]. They silently call to people, to their conscience: "Do not be careless, do not forget to do good." The deep inculcation of new communist morality and new customs into the consciousness of every member of our society requires a decisive struggle against the heritage of the old world. And this is Gurt-aga's concern.

Gurt-aga is related in his characterization to Achil-buva from the novel "Chinara" by the Uzbek writer A. Mukhtar. Although the character of Achil-buva is shown both in the past and present, he is somewhat idealized.

Two characterizations of old men in the above novels are symbols of personified popular conscience. Concern for everything, the feelings of an owner for the good earth and responsibility for everything are the marks of Achil-buva's nature. Achil-buva's life is enriched by a memory for the past that seems to penetrate his entire world outlook. Because of this, strange traditions, true stories, reminiscences and legends told by Achil-buva are taken not as echoes of a distant past, but as a part of today's life. "I have lived for a long time and do not remember anything repeating itself," says Achil-buva, explaining his thoughts, for his concept of human life is one of creation, and creation always renews the world and its inhabitants. And it is natural that Achil-buva is drawn to his oldest son, Arif, a secretary of the party district committee. It is to him, a party leader, that he entrusts what is most important and valuable, because he is convinced that everything beautiful in man, his strength, his qualities, his thoughts, desires and hopes, passes on to the succeeding generation.

Achil-buva is a crystal clear moral source and a solid moral support for his children and grandchildren. Not growing old even at his one hundred years, Achil-buva personifies the historical experience of the people and their wisdom. Achil-buva's youth was taken up by the struggle to establish Soviet power, and today, when it would seem he could rest and admire the results of his work, he is in the ranks, as he was before. The years did not deprive Achil of his fighting spirit; for him, everything is possible, and people love their "buva" and go to him for advice and help in happiness and sorrow. The hero cannot conceive of his fate not being tied to the fate of the people or his service to the people, and feels a constant personal responsibility for their present and future. In answer to the question of his other son, Azimdzhan, as to whether it is possible to live such a tense and turbulent life and be happy, Achil-buva says: "Yes, Azimdzhan, I have an enviable fate. And my children have many upheavals and concerns because they cannot live without thinking; they are touched by everything that happens in life. That is how I raised them. That is how they are dear to me. And if one of them does not have the strength for that kind of life, I blame myself for not having given them something more" [3, p.261].

The qualities that provide a parallel between Achil-buva and Gurt-aga are common sense, honesty and goodness achieved through a vast life experience and social activeness, and a feeling of being someone who can change and create a new world. It is these qualities, we believe, that provide the essence of a typology for positive heroes.

Geographical proximity and common traditions of Uzbek and Turkmen peoples have made these fraternal literatures interchange their creative experiences and develop in such a way as to achieve unity. The characterizations of Achil-buva and Gurt-aga convince us that the realistic prose of two fraternal literatures has become psychologically deeper and that character typing has been perfected. In the best works of the national literatures that we are analyzing, the main hero comes out as a fighter and an active builder of communist society.

A. Mukhtar and T. Dzhumagel'dyev test the values of their heroes through the durability of their ties with society and their measure of social activism, showing their heroes in tense moments of life where their character traits come out fully. Despite Gurt's static image, T. Dzhumagel'dyev embodies his hero with trustfulness, personal charm, concern about the earth and nature, as well as principles and persistence. The image of Achil-buva is a symbolic one, personifying the Uzbek people. The best traits of the people have been embodied in the characterization of wisdom and a high degree of humanism. In resolving current problems, the writers do not limit themselves to studying the social and class nature of the hero's actions, but strive to investigate the psychological basis for their actions and to understand their inner stimuli in a moral and psychological sense. The characterizations of Umid from Mirmukhsin's novel of the same name and Salamkuli from A. Atadzhanov's novel "Tvoi znakomye" [Your Acquaintances] were developed on the basis of the above criteria. Both novels are concerned with today's intelligentsia and how the character of its representatives was formed in its struggle against a morality that was alien to our society and against the remnants of the past. The novels analyzed touch upon vital problems of the national

economy, especially cotton growing and the efficient use of land. During the process of resolving these problems, the characters are developed and their social and activist convictions manifest themselves.

The hero of the Turkmen novel, the scientist and writer Salamkuli Batmanov, having defended his candidates' dissertation, lives an interesting and productive life, works on books and writes scenarios for theatre plays, as well as stories. He is surrounded by his best friends who constantly argue about the meaning of life and discuss the moral side of people, their positive qualities, honesty, trust toward each other, humaneness and the duties of a writer.

Thus Kemal, a young sculptor, an emotional person, says: "...I was recently coming back from Kazandzhik, saying goodbye to guys going on active duty. One woman says to her son: Good luck, my boy! Let your conscience stay clear. If one's conscience is clear, he will never be lost!' Conscience! That is the most important quality in man!" [5, p. 26].

The novel raises broad moral problems, and it is by no coincidence that the reviewer, G. Kuliyeva, characterizes A. Atadzhanov's novel as being "intellectual."

The character of Salamkuli is presented in a dynamic development. At the beginning of the novel, indecisiveness is noticeable in some of the hero's actions. This position of the hero can be seen in his conversation with Koz'ya Boroda, who tries to prove that times have changed, people have less humaneness, honesty, goodness and trust toward each other. Salamkuli tried to convince the old man otherwise, but could not. It was not because he did not know how, but simply because he himself had doubts: "No matter how you put it, young man, no matter how you show your education, you cannot win me over in an argument Because that's exactly the way it is, people have degenerated. Their soul is not the same! ..." [5, p. 48]. What if "Koz'ya Boroda is right! Maybe people are really becoming petty. A lot of different things are now happening to people" After a big family argument, and later, an investigation of his conduct at the party office and his being subsequently fired from his job, Salamkuli decides, in a moment of spiritual despair, to travel to Khauz-khan, to his friend Nayzali. Along the way he meets new people with whom he later becomes friends, Nutdy, Vershochek and Berdek-aga. In keeping with his characterization as a hero, after having met these simple people and after his meeting with his friend Nayzali, he experiences a moral turning point, gathers confidence and strength. It is during these days which he spends at the Karakum Canal that Salamkuli finds the real happiness of being with simple people and understands that he owes them a debt. "Never did he have to think so much. And it was all important and vital, about the future, about himself and about the fate of Turkmen literature" [5, p. 236].

"Man, his soul, his feelings, his internal world -- this is what is most important! And the most difficult Koz'ya Boroda was wrong. And nevertheless the task of a writer is to help people find out about themselves and each other, and to bring them together. It is necessary to show man, the builder of communism, in what lies his greatness." [5, p. 237].

His friends and the collective help the hero find his confidence and the meaning of an active life. Salam's spiritual world is significantly enriched thanks to his friendships with Nayzali and Kemal, and his acquaintance with Vershocek, Berdek-aga, aunt Bostan and other characters in the novel.

Although the influence of the collective is not always shown equally well, especially in the passage where Salamkuli is fired, critics have noted that "Salamkuli's being fired from his job has not been given any attention; but conversely, the intervention of the party organization is noticeable in the episode of Salamkuli with his wife Makhinur." [6, p.7].

A similar character can also be seen in "Umid," a novel by the Uzbek writer Mirmukhsin. The novel's main hero, Umid, is a young graduate student at a scientific research institute on agricultural selection in Tashkent. The characterization of Umid, like Salamkuli, is dynamic. Sometimes he makes mistakes, but he still finds his true life's path. The writers of both novels bring their heroes out into the wide world, showing their participation in life's troubles, and making them think about and fight against banality and conservatism. Umid begins his scientific work under the direction of Professor Salimkhan Abid. In the beginning of the novel Umid does not understand the problems of cotton growing that are discussed at scientists' meetings. The scientists had differing opinions, and it seemed to Umid that they were all correct. The novel's hero is disturbed that he does not have his own opinion about this problem. Gradually, Umid begins to sort it out and sees that there are contradictions in the reasoning of Professor Salimkhan Abid. Umid knows that there is a task before the selection institute that cannot be put off. This involves the fight against wilt, a dangerous cotton plant disease. And again, the people who surround Umid play a tremendous role during these difficult moments of his life. First of all, there are Yelena Vladimirovna, an employee of his section, and Shukur Karimovich, the director of the selection institute, both good, responsive people who support Umid. At the end of the novel we find out that the hero successfully defends his dissertation on the effects of gamma rays on cotton seeds. Umid attains his life's goals and becomes a well-known scientist whose opinions are valued by many scientists.

In the forefront of the conflicts in the novels analyzed is the struggle between the new and the old, and a clash between different moral principles. In creating the types and characters, in revealing the spiritual image of the Soviet man and his world outlook, the Soviet writers take into consideration new forms of the ideological struggle in the area of consciousness and morality. Thus, in their conflicts with negative persons, their opposites, the heroes of the novels also display civic feelings, feelings of responsibility for everything that happens in their native land and for their duty to the people.

In A. Atadzhanov's novel "Tvoi znakomye," the antipode to the character of Salam is the section head, Serdar Shadyevich, and in Mirmukhsin's novel, the same is true of the character Salimkhan Abidi. These are strikingly developed negative persons, immoral personalities.

Serdar Shadyevich, a previously well-known scientist, is a sly and cynical person. He lives, as he loves to say, "according to the secret laws of life." The reader sees him at home and during the meeting of his section, on country walks with his wife and one of his colleagues, at a banquet and in a restaurant. And everywhere he is a cynical person. He attaches himself to someone else's glory and covers up the dirty deeds of the squabbler and careerist Khyslan. In Mirmukhsin's novel, Salimkhan Abidi is the scientist and supervisor of the novel's main hero. In the past he had done a great deal for agricultural selection science, but now he is a lazy, cynical and self-satisfied man who does not teach his student anything new. He talks about hard-to-get articles that his wife acquired by good luck with a much greater enthusiasm than he talks about cotton. Abidi and Serdar Shadyevich are related. Their relationship is multifold: Both are inclined to take on the pose of sympathetic friends, they are phrase mongers, they love glory, they do not tolerate arguments and they attach themselves to someone else's glory. Serdar Shadyevich cosigned an article with Salamkuli, articles written by the latter, and Salimkhan Abidi does the same in articles and reports written by his student, the doctoral candidate Umid. It is the clash of the moral principles of Abid and Serdar Shadyev, as well as those of the principal heroes that comprises the basic conflict of these works. Salamkuli, having recognized the vile nature of his supervisor and former friend, tells him: "You are becoming less and less of a scientist; you are only an administrator and a public figure. Meetings, symposia, presidiums. You have no time for scientific work. That is why you try for collective work and for coauthorship. But more simply, you are becoming used to signing your name under someone else's works." [5, p.156]. Salamkuli is not afraid to lose his supervisor's friendship, for he places his civic principles higher than principles that are alien to the socialist way of life.

An analogous picture is also presented in the behavior of the hero in Mirmukhsin's novel. Sensing an unjust attitude toward himself, Umid was not afraid of a clash with the well-known professor. This is how the author describes the hero's mental state: "When Abidi began intensively using a psychological method against an enemy, Umid felt like a person who finds himself in an enemy camp At a meeting of the scientific council, Umid decisively rebuffs Salimkuli Abidi's policy." [7, pp. 238-239]. The authors of these novels reveal the motivations for the heroes' behavior with great subtlety.

Thus, the multinational Soviet literature, including Central Asian literature, reflects the spiritual essence of our society and the character of the new modern hero. Everything in society is improving and growing more complex. People, living souls, are still recognized by the contrast to their antipodes who are alien and inimical to our society. We were primarily interested in the characterization of today's man, who creates good and destroys evil. The earlier today's man is drawn into the rapid succession of events, the stronger he becomes. The stronger the positive aspect of man's consciousness, the more violent is the struggle with negative phenomena that inhibit progress. The Uzbek novelists strive for a larger picture in describing events and simultaneously avoid sketchiness in characterizing the positive hero. This becomes especially important when resolving the problem of characterizing our contemporaries. Noticeably successful in this respect

is the novel by Ulmas Umarbekov, "Chelovekom byt' - eto trudno," [To Be a Man is Difficult]. The heroes of the novel are young men and women who have finished secondary school and are choosing their path to the big wide world. But no matter which road the young person takes, no matter what he becomes, the main thing is to be a man. At the center of the story is the character Abdulla Sharipov, who finished school with a gold medal and entered a Leningrad institute. He is smart and hard working, he is loved and respected, and among his comrades he is known as an honest person and a man of principles. It is these qualities that attract Gul'chekhira. She falls in love with the youth and wants to tie her life to him. Abdulla also loves Gul'chekhira, a young woman with a crystal clear soul and lofty thoughts. Gul'chekhira ties her future to her native village, where she was born and raised. She hopes, after completing the architectural institute, to initiate a project for building a new village that would be like a small modern town. Abdulla, however, is motivated only by a desire to "make his way in the world." Abdulla meets the daughter of an academician, Sayyera, and a struggle ensues in his soul: With whom should he go? He loves Gul'chekhira, but what would that marriage give him? Sayyera is another matter. Abdulla is surrounded by many good, hard working people. These are Pulat, Kasym and Sayyera herself. It would seem that their influence could not pass by without a trace and would help Abdulla make the right decision. However, this does not happen. And only a tragedy, Gul'chekhira's death, forces everyone, and primarily Abdulla, to look at one's self in a different manner. In so doing, the author forces the reader to think about the meaning of life and about the necessity of following the high moral principle: "To be a man is difficult."

The Turkmen writer Khidyr Der'yayev, in his story "Svyashchennyy ochag" [The Holy Hearth], draws the image of a young man, Atadzhan, that is similar to that of Abdulla Sharipov. An only son, Atadzhan Charyyev is spoiled by his parents and believes that he should take everything he can from the world. His father buys him a Volga automobile, and Atadzhan leads a dissipated life. After having been married for one year to a beautiful young woman, Gul'dzhakhan, who loves him, he goes away to Ashkhabad to study for his doctorate and does not even think of visiting his young wife. Atadzhan falls in love with Dzheren, daughter of professor Yusupov, so that he will have an easier time of it in defending his dissertation. His friends and comrades (Oraz and his wife Aylar), having discovered Atadzhan's mercenary motives, appeal to his conscience. In the finale of the story, Atadzhan, in a conversation with Oraz, remarks: "... You have given me advice more than once. I disregarded it. I did not want to fight against the current and I tried to jump over the river. I didn't make it and fell into the rapids. But I didn't drown, did I?! I am alive. I shall keep trying!" [8, p. 145].

The educational force of our art and its influence on the formation of a moral aspect in our contemporaries is strong because it also turns to heroes who have a different character. These are heroes in whose conscience are characteristics of a man of our times, but who have the psychology of a petty bourgeois careerist who is selfish, egoistic, and who uses people. Soviet belletristic literature brilliantly, vividly and believably depicts a person of a new historical social formation; it penetrates deeply into his moral world, that is, into those moral categories that are basic in the life of a

person. Turkmen writers created a number of works in the 1970's, the heroes of which are carriers of high moral principles. These heroes include characters such as Gurt-aga, Salamkuli and Batmanov. Uzbek literature of the 1970's also boldly and confidently takes and resolves the problem of depicting a positive hero and his internal world in its many aspects.

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LEVELS OF MIXED NATIONALITY MARRIAGES IN DAGHESTAN REPORTED

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[Article by Docent O. M. Guseynov, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Certain Characteristics of the Functioning and Development of Mixed-Nationality Families"]

[Text] Our society is leading developed socialism toward an ever-growing social homogeneity, including within itself both a social integration as well as an internationalization of the lives of the peoples. Within this double-pronged process social integration (the overcoming of class and other social-group differences) plays a leading role with regard to the internationalization of social life. The latter functions as a complex and lengthy process, especially in such a sphere of people's life activities as marital and family relationships, which are marked by a well-known conservatism and a lesser degree of mobility.

However, the processes of the rapprochement of nations and nationalities, the development of unified, general-Soviet traits of socio-economic and political life, socialist ideology and morality have also encompassed the family-everyday sphere of people's life activities. As Yu. V. Andropov has remarked, the central task in the field of nationality policy consists in assuring "harmonious, fraternal relations between the members of all--both large and small--nations and nationalities in work and in everyday life" (PRAVDA, 22 December 1982). Serving as obvious testimony to the rapprochement of nations in this sphere and the broad-based dissemination of the ideas of internationalism and the friendship of peoples in daily life is the constant growth in the number of mixed-nationality families, especially in the cities and the major multinational populated points. In our country the number of mixed marriages is counted in the millions. In relation to the total number of families, their number increased in 1970, as compared with 1959, from 10.2 percent to 13.4 percent.

The growth of mixed-nationality marriages has been facilitated by migrational processes, cultural and economic ties between the peoples of the USSR, their fraternal relations, the absence of the formal national isolation and religious barriers which in the past hindered closer relationships and mutual understanding between people.

The present article considers the specific principles of the functioning and development of mixed-nationality families, their internal organization and the effect on the moral processes occurring in daily life. Serving as the empirical basis for this work are the results of sociological research conducted by the author during the years 1976--1980.*

Mixed-nationalities were created in the Northern Caucasus even prior to the Revolution, but these were mainly between persons of the same religious faiths. However, as certain authors have written, marriages were also concluded between persons of different religious faiths, if they were living in a borderline ethnic zone where the reciprocal influence of their national cultures was particularly strong. Thus, according to the data of G. Kh. Mambetov, the Kabardinians even during pre-Revolutionary times entered into marriage with Russians (see: Mambetov, G. Kh., "The Kabardinians in the Past and Present," *Nal'chik*, 1968, p 187). As M. S. Kashuba and L. N. Chizhikova have noted, during the times of the Caucasian War, when there were few women in the Cossack stanitsas [encampments], the Cossacks took mountain-women prisoners as wives. In the mountains of Daghestan there were cases of marriages between mountain women and Russian soldiers and officers taken prisoner by Shamil at the time of the "gazavat" (see: Kashuba, M. S. and Chizhikova, L. N., "The Family and Family Life: The Kuban' Stanitsas; Ethnic and Cultural-Everyday Processes in the Kuban'," Moscow 1967, p 194; Lezgintsev, G., "The Man from the Mountains," Moscow, 1981, p 92).

However, many barriers were encountered in the past on the path to the creation of mixed families: religious-confessional, linguistic, having to do with mores, which placed certain limitations on inter-ethnic contacts, and these limitations were legally reinforced by the state. Thus, for example, in the "Codex of the Laws of the Russian Empire" (1857) it was indicated that persons of the Orthodox and Roman-Catholic faiths were forbidden to enter into marriages with non-Christians (see: "Codex of the Laws of the Russian Empire," St. Petersburg, 1857, Vol X, Part 1, p 15). There was also a sharply negative attitude toward marriage with persons of a different faith on the part of Islam, which considered it to be a gross violation of the Shariat. For a Daghestanian woman to marry a person of another faith

* Serving as subjects of the study were the multinational production groups of the Plant imeni M. Gadzhiyev in the city of Makhachkala, the grinding-machine plant in the city of Derbent, the Makhachkala Garment Firm, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, as well as the multinational population of workers in the settlements of a number of rayons of the Daghestan ASSR, situated in various natural-geographic zones. The respondents were selected on the basis of a scheme of a multilevel standardized sample. In all, the study encompassed 1650 families, of which 24 percent were of mixed nationalities. With regard to their social composition the families were distributed in the following manner: families of workers--54 percent, kolkhoz members--32 percent, office employees--8 percent, engineers and technicians--6 percent. The research showed that 44.9 percent of the mixed marriages comprised marriages between members of the Daghestanian peoples, 29.5 percent between members of non-Daghestanian peoples, and 25.6 percent--between Daghestanians and non-Daghestanians.

in the past was a great shame and was persecuted in all ways. Thus, for example, the Daghestanian historian R. Magomedov writes as follows: "In Kumukha just before the Revolution, in 1916, a Shariat court trial was held of a Lak girl for marrying an Armenian. Upon the decision of the Shariat court, she was placed on a donkey with her face toward the tail, they smeared her face with soot and drove her around the aul [mountain village] accompanied by wild fanatics, who spat upon the woman and threw stones at her" (Magomedov R., "New Times and Old Customs," Makhachkala, 1966, p 14). And even among Muslims belonging to different nationalities mixed marriages were not widespread, although they were not condemned by public opinion.

With the victory of the October Revolution the prohibitions against mixed marriages were abolished. There is no longer the mistrust and alienation which were characteristic of mixed-nationality relations in the past. Mixed-nationality marriages have become a legitimate phenomenon, visibly demonstrating the processes of the internationalization of the material and spiritual aspects of the life of Soviet society.

The number of mixed-nationality marriages has been constantly increasing throughout the country as a whole as well as in each of the Soviet republics individually. In Daghestan, for example, mixed-nationality marriages in 1939 amounted to only 5.7 percent of the total number of marriages (576 out of 10,103). According to the data of the 1970 All-Union Census of the Population, 9 percent of all marriages concluded in the republic were mixed, whereas in the cities, where the population is more heterogeneous with regard to nationality, the respective indicator amounted to 17 percent (computed on the basis of: "Results of the 1970 All-Union Census of the Population," Moscow, 1974, Vol 7, p 308).

Within the mixed-nationality families there occurs a further drawing-together of people of different nationalities, the liberation of the consciousness of the spouses and the children from the phenomena of nationalistic and other prejudices. Mixed-nationality families, living in accordance with the norms of communist morality, exert a progressive influence on the consciousness of those around them. As our research has shown, more than 88 percent of the Daghestanians and Russians in the city and 79 percent in the rural areas consider that today the main thing in choosing spouses is not nationality but personal qualities.

However, the results of sociological studies also bear witness to the fact that marital-family relations at the given stage of their development, particularly in rural localities, are still not free from everyday prejudices and religious vestiges. Thus, 9 percent of those questioned in the city and 13 percent in the rural areas, in the creation of a family, express their preference for a person of their own nationality, while 3 percent of the city-dwellers and 8 percent of the rural inhabitants expressed their negative attitude toward mixed marriages. Moreover, as an argument they set forth the reason that, supposedly, ethnically mixed marriages lead to a loss of the language and originality of the minority peoples, that such marriages are not long-lasting, etc.

A negative attitude toward mixed-nationality marriages is widespread predominantly in single-nationality, rural localities remote from the city. In the cities and regions with a mixed population the overwhelming majority of those questioned expressed approval of mixed-nationality marriages.

As our studies have shown, the attitude of people toward mixed-nationality marriages, the degree of the latter's dissemination in the city and in the rural areas depend on the cultural-economic contacts between the members of different peoples as well as on the traits of the social and family daily life of this or that people: the position of the woman in the society and the family, the role of the parents and the relatives, and that of the immediate environment in the selection of a bridegroom or a bride, public opinion, determining the trends for the conclusion of marriages: ethnically homogeneous or mixed.

The city and the village differ not only in the above-mentioned traits but also in the nature and structure of the mixed-nationality families being created. As sociological studies have shown, in rural localities where there is a predominant proportion of persons belonging to indigenous nationalities, the percentage is highest of mixed marriages between members of Daghestanian peoples which are close in culture and language. They comprised 58.4 percent of all the mixed marriages; 32.2 percent of the mixed marriages in rural areas turned out to be marriages between Daghestanians and non-Daghestanians, and only 9.4 percent--between members of the non-Daghestanian peoples.

In the cities, where a considerable number of Russians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanians, and European Jews, and others live along with the Daghestanians, mixed marriages between Daghestanians and non-Daghestanians and between members of non-Daghestanians peoples comprise respectively 35.8 percent and 36.3 percent, whereas mixed marriages between members of the indigenous Daghestanian peoples amount to only 27.9 percent.

Among the mixed marriages concluded between Daghestanian men and non-Daghestanian women, 74.6 percent constitute marriages with Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian women, which testifies to the radical changes in national attitudes and the re-structuring of people's psychology. The number of these marriages increased particularly during the wartime and post-war years. Today Daghestanians regard mixed families in which the wives are Russians, Ukrainians, or Belorussians as an ordinary phenomenon. One of the reasons for the positive attitude, for example, toward Russian women who are living in the families of the local nationalities must be seen in the nature of these women, in their simplicity and responsiveness, their good wishes and respect for the progressive local customs and traditions, which ensures them of love and respect from those around them.

Russian women exert a great cultural influence on those around them, they are an example in their inter-relations with their husbands, with the villagers, in caring for their children and their upbringing. Such families, which visibly demonstrate our Soviet way of life and socialist nationalism, noticeably influence the consciousness and behavior of those around them; they facilitate the overcoming of nationalistic and religious prejudices which are still sometimes encountered.

If Daghestanian men frequently enter into mixed marriages, matters are still more complicated when mountain girls marry members of non-Daghestanian peoples, especially those from the European part of the USSR. Manifested here are the remnants of nationalistic and religious prejudices as well as the influence of old, traditional public opinion, which prevails most powerfully over Daghestanian women, who for centuries have been in darkness and ignorance and, therefore, are relatively slowly being liberated from prejudices of the past. However, progressive manifestations in daily life, by overcoming various obstacles, are clearing the road for themselves. The number of mixed marriages between mountain women and men of non-Caucasian peoples is growing from year to year in this republic. As S. Sh. Gadzhiyeva notes, "behind this it is impossible not to see profound changes in the psychology and the world view not only of young women but also of the members of the older generation of mountaineer parents and other members of the mountain family, who by their agreement, as it were, strengthen and 'sanction' such marriages" ("The Modern Culture and Daily Life of Daghestan's Peoples," Moscow, 1971, p 186).

Mixed-nationality families, in contrast to those of a single nationality, have specific traits. As A. G. Kharchev emphasizes, in them the "spousal relationships... are linked with a difference greater than usual in psychology, traditions, and living standards" (Kharchev, A. G., "Marriage and the Family in the USSR," Moscow, 1979, p 213--214). However, as observations have shown, the differences in psychological make-up, temperament, and habits of the spouses not only do not hinder normal family life but, so to speak, mutually supplement and enrich the spouses and support their unflagging interest in each other. In the process of the spouses' close sharing not only are there shortcomings to overcome, but there even occurs a mutual spiritual-moral development of the spouses, which continues throughout the course of their entire life together as husband and wife. The atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding between the spouses cannot fail to have an effect on the spiritual and moral development of the children. The moral climate of such a family and its internationalism are of great importance in improving a man's personal life, as well as his immediate daily surroundings; they exert a beneficial influence on social life as well, since the family group under socialism is oriented toward socially significant goals and ideals.

Of course, mixed-nationality families, like those of a single nationality, are not free of contradictions and conflicts. Here on the soil of infringing upon national feelings, manifestations of nationalism are also possible, along with conflicts between the spouses, and this has a negative effect on their mutual relations and can cause the break-up of a family. But it would be incorrect, by exaggerating the individual manifestations of a national incompatibility between the spouses, to consider that in mixed-nationality families there are less opportunities for the mutual adaptation of the spouses than there are in families of a single nationality. As our observations have shown, mixed-nationality families split up no more frequently than single-nationality families. Furthermore, as A. G. Kharchev has noted, "by encountering a number of difficulties on the path of their

own emergence and development, mixed-nationality marriages also master a certain 'additional potential' for overcoming such difficulties. The matter here, it must be assumed, lies in the fact that the decision on entering into a marriage with a person belonging to another nation is connected with a great deal of personal responsibility and, in principle, cannot be adopted without sufficient moral-psychological foundation" (loc. cit., p 214).

One of the traits of mixed-nationality families consists in the fact that in them the mutual relations between the spouses are characterized by a greater degree of democracy, by being less subject to ancillary influences than in families belonging to a single nationality. The reason for such a phenomenon, in all probability, lies in the fact that mixed-nationality families in their overwhelming majority are created on the basis of the voluntary manifestation of the wills of the spouses, without the interference of ancillary persons, in contrast to families of a single nationality, where the influence of parents, older brothers and sisters, as well as other relatives of the future spouses still manifests itself. Thus, in the single-nationality families which were studied 29 percent of the women who were questioned answered that the initiative in the selection of a spouse belonged not to them but to the parents and relatives.

In finding out the motives for marriage, we discovered that if in the mixed-type families 92 percent of those questioned named as the principal motive for concluding a marriage the feeling of love and only 8 percent of the respondents gave preference to material, economic ideas, then in the single-nationality families these indicators amounted to 83 percent and 17 percent respectively.

Not only are the motives for entering into marriage diverse, but so also are the strength of the family ties and the inter-relationships of the spouses in the single-nationality and mixed-nationality families which were studied. In the latter 89 percent of the spouses questioned see in each other a moral ideal, an example to be imitated. And in the single-nationality families this indicator equals 63 percent.

In comparing single-nationality and mixed-nationality families, it can also be noted that they also differ as to their make-up. The latter are smaller in size, as compared to the single-nationality families. Among them there is a higher proportion of families consisting of two generations, i. e., of the spouses (or one of them) and their children. The average number of children in the mixed-nationality families amounts to 3.1, while in the single-nationality families this figure is 4.2. The nuclear family, in contrast to the extended family, has both positive and negative aspects. The family consisting of two generations is least of all subject to the snooping and interference of the parents and relatives of the husband and the wife into the mutual relations between the spouses and between the spouses and their children. The spouses solve their own family problems independently, and, therefore, in such a family fewer conflicts arise; there is more harmony and mutual understanding.

At the same time in the simple family there is a weakening of the tie between the generations, a lack of the educational influence on the children

on the part of the older generation--the grandmothers and grandfathers. However, as practical experience has shown, in the extended families the educational methods of the grandmothers and grandfathers with their frequently condescending care of their grandchildren and the over-evaluation of their possibilities and capabilities do not always have a favorable influence on the children's upbringing. Moreover, in such families the parents sometimes transfer the burden of rearing the children onto the grandfathers and grandmothers. Moreover, the joint spending of free time together by parents and children creates steady emotional ties between them and emerges as the most important factor in creating warm family relationships and forming the family group.

As a rule, the spouses in mixed-nationality families are marked by the same educational and cultural levels and size of wages, which facilitates their mutual understanding, respect, and spiritual closeness. In many such families the woman earns at least as much as, and sometimes even more, than the husband. This contribution of hers to the family well-being and equally the growth of her education, general horizon, professional and socio-political activity has a noticeable influence on raising the woman's prestige in the society and the family; it gives her the opportunity to be a fully equal adviser in solving all the family problems.

To a greater degree than the single-nationality families, the mixed-nationality families are characterized by a lack of an authoritarian principle (among them such a lack is encountered 3--4 times more often than among single-nationality families, where there is no clearly expressed head of the house, where the spouses decide all family questions jointly and in common), and there is a de facto recognition of the equality of the parents, grown-up children, and all the remaining relatives living together. Here the active participation of the man and the grown-up children in preparing the food, doing the laundry, cleaning up the apartment, and taking care of the children is 2--3 times as much as in single-nationality families. The group nature of the housework and the mutual aid create in the family an atmosphere of good-will and mutual understanding, and this cannot help but affect the strengthening of the family, the capacity for work of its members, their mood, and the work education of the children.

Today's family, especially a mixed-nationality one, is characterized by the following: family solidarity, spousal and parental love, respect and love of children for their parents, new social roles for the woman in it, internationalization of moral orientations, expansion of the spiritual and material needs of its members, and an increase in the importance as the primary form of a people's community.

Concerning the place and role of mixed-nationality families within the present-day ethnic processes occurring in the republic, testimony is furnished by the answers to the following question on the questionnaire: "What should be undertaken to draw persons of various nationalities closer together, to establish genuinely internationalist relations among them?" Some 32 percent of the total number questioned named mixed-nationality marriages as an important factor in drawing persons of various nationalities closer together,

while they justifiably consider the hindrances caused by certain backward persons to the creation of such families as the chief evil in mixed-nationality relations and one of the most harmful traditions of the past, one against which a decisive struggle must be waged.

Today the Daghestanians, by following new and progressive traditions in their own inter-relationships with the USSR's other peoples, are decisively rejecting customs which have outlived their own period. Thus, the people's poet of Daghestan, Rasul Gamzatov, writes as follows: "Why, for example, does the modern-day mountaineer need the custom of his fathers which allows him to marry only a girl from his native aul? If love is not measured by argens and not weighed in kilograms, then why should the Daghestanian, whose roads today spread throughout the entire country, not fall in love with and marry a girl from any Soviet republic?" (as quoted from: "The Way of Life is Soviet," Moscow, 1973, p 100).

In deepening and strengthening the processes of interaction among peoples, the reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment of their cultures in the family-life sphere an exceptionally great role is played by the modern scientific and technical revolution. By increasing the social, territorial, and occupational mobility of the population, the scientific and technical revolution has facilitated the intensification of sharing among peoples, their drawing closer together, the acceleration of the processes of working out common traits of culture, daily life, and morality.

The process of drawing people of differing nationalities closer together in the family-life sphere is an important factor of their reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment. Thus, in Daghestan, for example, there is observed not only the influence of Russians on the economic set-up, the material culture, spiritual life, and daily life of the indigenous peoples, but also the reverse process, whereby the Russian population living in this republic in turn assimilates the progressive local customs, traditions, and morals. Russian schoolteachers, engineers, scientists, physicians, and writers, by taking the most direct participation in the economic, political, and cultural transformation of the republic are being enriched by the knowledge connected with the history, culture, everyday life, and morals of the peoples of this mountainous region.

Concerning the processes of persons of differing nationalities being drawn closer together in the family-life sphere testimony is provided by the changes which have occurred during the years of the Soviet regime in the first names being given by the peoples of Daghestan. Thus, one often encounters now in the republic Russian first names--Svetlana, Vladimir, Tat'yana, Valentina, Andrey, Yuriy, and others, as well as international first names such as Artur, Al'bert, El'mira, etc. At the same time as new first names are appearing there is a gradual disappearance of first names connected with religion in their origins, names with the particles "abd"--slave, "din"--religion, "ulla"--allah, etc.

In mixed-nationality families the spouses usually give their children a first name which does not exhibit any preference for either one of the spouses. In Russian-mixed families the children, as a rule, have two first names--a Russian one and a local one traditionally accompanying the Russian one: Alla-Alimat, Galina-Gyul'naz, Yuriy-Yusuf, etc. The decrease in the number of old first names and the appearance of new ones reflect the processes of the emergence of new relationships between nations and nationalities in the most specific sphere of human mutual relations--in the sphere of family and daily life.

In mixed-nationality families the children choose the nationality of one of the parents. In Daghestan 89 percent of the children in the mixed-nationality families which were investigated chose the father's nationality. This basically pertains to children whose parents are members of the indigenous nationalities of Daghestan. But as regards the Russian-mixed families, here the children, as a rule, show a preference for the Russian nationality.

The choice by the children of the mother's nationality in mixed families is often explained by the absence of the father, when the child knows only the mother's language.

When a child is born in mixed families, his nationality is determined by the parents, and in case of difficulty in choosing it, preference is given to the mother's nationality, for her role in the child's moral upbringing and his socialization is considerably greater than that of the father. As certain researchers have noted, the mother functions as an authority for the child, the most important person in his life. While the contributions of the father and the mother to the socialization of children are different, we should not, however, exaggerate the educational possibilities of the mother. In some respects a greater role is played by the father, while in other respects it is played by the mother, and only a skillful combination of the father's and mother's functions can provide the necessary results in the moral and international education of the children.

The growth and development of mixed-nationality families have intensified the processes of bilingualism, leading to a further strengthening of the mutual ties among persons of differing nationalities. Russian is the generally accepted language of international communication within our country. According to the data of the 1979 All-Union Census of the Population, 60.3 percent of the indigenous nationalities of Daghestan are fluent in Russian, (see: "The Population of the USSR," Moscow, 1980, p 24), which has emerged as a powerful expeditor of the process of nations growing closer together, as well as the mutual enrichment of their cultures. The Russian language is the channel through which the members of any nation and nationality of the USSR become acquainted with the economic, political, spiritual, and moral achievements of the other peoples in our country, with the progressive production experience, and with the achievements of peoples of foreign countries. That is why a fluent mastery of the Russian language by the peoples of this republic has emerged as one of the most important conditions for the drawing closer together of their cultures, and the enrichment of their

spiritual life. A poor mastery of the Russian language in individual families and in individual regions, as a rule, has a negative effect on the cultural and spiritual level of people. One of the ways to solve the problem of overcoming linguistic barriers is the path of developing nationality-Russian bilingualism, which has become an extremely important social criterion of the spiritual life of the entire Soviet society.

The widespread dissemination of the Russian language in the republic has facilitated the development, enrichment, and improvement of the national languages of Daghestan's peoples. An ignorance of one of the languages, particularly in such a conservative sphere as family and daily life, can facilitate, albeit sometimes unconsciously, a rebirth of nationalism and chauvinism.

Mixed-nationality families in which the parents have a respectful attitude toward the national achievements of each other function as a powerful factor in the international education of the children. A family's way of life and the mutual relations of the older people in it are accepted by the children as a norm of behavior, as the standard which (consciously or unconsciously) the young person strives to imitate and follow, for initially a child sees the world through the eyes of his own parents. As our research has shown, children who have grown up in such families have more friends from among members of other nationalities, they are better informed about the daily life, morals, and traditions of other peoples, they have mastered the Russian language well and are least subjected to negative mind-sets and prejudices in their inter-relationships with people of various nationalities.

As with every new progressive phenomenon, mixed-nationality families have encountered certain obstacles and difficulties on their path. There are quite a few instances wherein the loves of young persons--members of different nationalities--have been hindered by the old-fashioned views of their parents. In his report entitled "Sixty Years of the USSR" Yu. V. Andropov noted the following: "...in the spiritual heritage, traditions, and everyday life of each nation there is not only that which is good but that which is bad, that which has outlived its time. And hence... the task is not to conserve that which is bad but to be liberated from everything which has become obsolete, which runs counter to the norms of Soviet communal life, socialist morality, and our communist ideals" (PRAVDA, 22 December 1982).

A negative attitude toward mixed-nationality marriages is usually closely interwoven with religious prejudices and with old traditions. This is particularly characteristic for religious believers who are somewhat advanced in years. Thus, according to the data of our study, 73 percent of the believers questioned 50 years of age and older have a negative attitude toward mixed marriages. Persons who are attempting to preserve the old mind-sets and orientations in the interrelationships between peoples can sometimes also be encountered among the non-believing portion of the population. While acknowledging internationalism as a political principle, at the same time they preach completely different views in the sphere of everyday life: in regard to the family they adhere to convictions which have outlived their time.

The Communist Party considers the vestiges of nationalism to be some of the most harmful vestiges of the past, impeding the international solidarity of the Soviet peoples, their unification in building communism, in the joint struggle, along with the working people of our planet, for peace and against the threat of war. "The CPSU has struggled and will always struggle decisively against such phenomena alien to socialism's nature as chauvinism or nationalism.... The party's sacred duty is to indoctrinate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a proud feeling of belonging to the unified and great Soviet Motherland" ("Materials of the 26th Congress of the CPSU," Moscow, 1981, p 57).

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